POLITICAL HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

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FROM

JAIN SOURCES

(*C.* 650 A.D to 1300 A.D.)

BY

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M A. (Pali & Indian History & Culture), Ph D. (B.H U.)

Vyākaranācārya, Pāli-Ācārya, Nyāya-Kāvyatīrtha, Siddhānta-Śāstri, Sāhitya-ratna

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WITH A FOREWORD

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SOHANLAL JAINDHARMA PRACHARAK SAMITI

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DEDICATED TO

THE AFFECTIONATE MEMORY OF MY REVERED PARENTS

THE LATE P. L. CHOUDHARY

AND

THE LATE SONA BAI JAIN

AND

TO

MY ESTEEMED TEACHERS

THE LATE PROF. DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT.

AND

PROF. DR. RAJ BALI PANDEYA, M.A., D.LITT.

WHO HAVE MADE ME WHAT I AM

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The present volume, the "Political History of Northern India from Jaina Sources" covering a period from c. 650 A.D. to 1300 A.D., is the publication of a thesis by Dr. Gulab Chandra Choudhary, the Singhi Research Scholar of the Samiti, for PH.D. Degree of the Banaras Hindu University. Originally the thesis was intended to cover economic and social survey also of the period but as the political side alone covered a volume, that attempt was given up as too big for a single thesis. Had it been possible or when it may be possible to do so, the publishers hope that a fascinating story may be unfolded like the chapter on Administration and Polity in the present volume.

The Jaina writers were always interested in their contemporary world and the people. They recorded such life and currents and reproduced faithfully the Culture of the people of other Religions also. Hence there is an additional value in studying Jaina Literature in all its branches written by Jainas from time to time in the languages of their periods. This Samiti is interesting itself for the last many years in the compilation of a History of Jaina Literature, attempting to disclose the Jainas' sum of contribution to the Culture and History of India, their motherland.

While concluding the Samiti takes pleasure in recording their thanks to the Singhi Brothers, M/s. Rajendra Singh and Narendra Singh of Calcutta for providing the sinews of the Scholarship. They also thanks the Press and the Secretary of the Jaina Mission Society, Shri K. Parasmal, for their arduous help in the publication of this book. The publishers cannot close this note without recording their gratitude to Dr. V. S. Agrawala who has not only written the foreword of this book but has been a leading light also in Samiti's work.

Amritsar
8-4-1963

PUBLISHERS

"तं (सच्चं) लोगम्मि सारभूयं॥"

Truth alone matters

(प्रश्नव्याकरण सूत्र—द्वितीय संवर द्वार)

FOREWORD

Indian History is like the mighty stream of the Ganga flowing from the High Himālayas of Cultural ideals to the ocean of the people's life. In it are mingled the waters of many tributaries, *viz.*, the cultural traditions of the diverse peoples and religions inhabiting the soil of India. Each one of them has its contribution to make to the history, culture, religion, literature and art of this land. Amongst them three streams are distinctly recognised, *viz.*, Vedic, Buddhist and Jain. The Vedic literature through Sanskrit was first to come within the purview of modern scholars, specially westerns, since the time of Franz Bocc who first discovered Sanskrit in 1808 with its full implications for comparative linguistic mythology etc. Buddhism through Pali takes the second rank which widens the horizon of Indology in many of its important branches. Its literature was published with an unprecedented gusto and many distinguished savants devoted themselves to the preparation of critical Pāli texts, their translation and the extraction of maximum information relating to ancient Indian religion, philosophy, literature and history. The Pāli Text Society rendered yeoman's service in establishing Buddhist studies on a permanent footing.

The third great branch in the form of Jainology somehow did not receive the impetus or recognition which it deserved by virtue of its very extensive Āgamic literature in the form of the scriptural texts in Ardhamāgadhi and the voluminous Prākrit and Sanskrit commentaries as well as a body of other literature of high value. The result was that the Jain tradition could not contribute its share to the understanding of the culture of the country on the one hand and to the elucidation of the special thought enshrined in the Jain tradition. It has a history of about 25 centuries and a wide extension covering all parts of the country. Fortunately the time has now come when a dynamic movement is being witnessed for the rehabilitation of the Jain literature and cultural tradition in the form of textual editing, interpretation, lexicographical presentation and its gradual introduction into the orbit of academic studies. Both Jain and non-Jain scholars are taking their due share in this noble task.

As such it gives me great pleasure to welcome my enthusiastic friend Sri Gulab Chandra Choudhary into the field of Jain studies with his first publication entitled 'Political History of Northern India from Jain Sources.' In this thesis approved for the PH.D. Degree of the Banaras Hindu University in 1954 the author has utilized mainly the Jain sources with a view to reconstruct, examine, check up or supplement the political history of the various dynasties from the 7th to 13th century A.D, *i.e.*, from the time of Harsa to that of

Vaghelas. It is a very painstaking study in which maximum material relating to the subject has been brought together from many a source, *viz.*, *Carita* and *Prabandha* literature, *Kathā* or narrative literature, *Kāvya* literature in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa. *Praśastis* or colophons to important manuscripts *Paṭṭāvalis* or traditional lists of teachers and pupils of the Jain Church and finally the most important of them all inscriptions which furnish reliable data regarding the chronological sequence of dynasties and rulers.

The dynasties of Madhya Deśa include the Puṣyabhūti of Thaneśvar and Yaśovarman and his successors as well as the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kannoj and Kāśi. The dynasties of eastern India treated here include the Pālas of Magadha, the Senas of Bangal and the Keśaris of Kalinga. The story of the royal dynasties of Central India about whom the Jain sources furnish a valuable hand-out of information, includes the Candelas of Khajurāho, the Kacchapaghātas of Gwālior, the Kalacuri of Ḍāhal or Cedi, the Paramāras of Mālava with their conspicuous contribution to the literature and art of India. The scene then shifts to Rājasthan where supplementary light on the history of Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, Raṇathambor, Naḍḍula and Jalore is forthcoming, together with other dynasties in that area, *viz.*, the Guhila-putras of Mewar, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastīkuṇḍi, the Paramāras of Bānswāra, Candrāvati and Kiradu. Amongst the well known dynasties of Saurāṣṭra are included the Cāvaḍās of Anahillapura, the Caulukyas of Gujarāt including such great names as Mularāj, Jayasingh Siddharāja, Kumārapāla and Bholu Bhīma, the Vaghela branch of the Caulukyas including Lavanaprasāda, his son Vīradhavala, and the two Minister-brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla and finally the Cāhamāna rulers of Lāṭa including Sindhuraj. The political history of most of the dynasties is already known from other literary and epigraphic sources but in this specialised work it will be seen what light the Jain sources throw on the dynasty as a whole or on the individual rulers, their achievements and principal political events of the reigns. In this study a happy combination is the attention paid to geography with respect to the original seat of the particular royal family, its capital or the identification of ancient place names, *e.g.*, *Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka* (pp. 218-223).

Part II of the thesis appertains to a study of the polity and administration which evolved during this important period in which the position of the king, his council ministers, organisation of the central and provincial administration, the status of *Sāmanta* rulers and the local governments functioning in the Capital cities and towns and villages are all studied with careful analysis of their precise features. I pay my tribute to this study which covers a wide

range of literary and epigraphic sources and which gives evidence of careful and accurate presentation of the material. The thesis will serve as a supplementary source for reconstructing the history of Mediaeval India with special reference to local history.

A similar attempt with regard to the history of Southern India from Jain inscriptions and literature of which the evidence is equally abundant needs to be undertaken, and a third volume devoted mainly to cultural history in all aspects from Jain sources would go a long way to complete the *menu* offered by the Jain side. Ultimately all these are but the various strands in the story of Indian civilization, each contributing its own spectrum line in this radiant picture.

Banaras Hindu University
8-3-1963

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

PREFACE

This thesis aims at bringing together and assessing the Jain Sources towards the reconstruction of the Political History of Northern India Circa 650 A.D. to Circa 1300 A.D. In dynastic histories of Northern India, so far written, some of the Jain Sources were used but casually and incompletely. In the following pages it has been endeavoured to collect all possible data available from the Jain Sources. No doubt, this attempt is sectional and focuses light from only one quarter, but it does substantially help in forming a comprehensive picture of India's past. Its value, however, is supplementary to other attempts which have been made in writing the political history of Northern India.

The scope of the thesis includes the fixing of the chronological position of various dynasties and individual rulers, discussion of genealogical sequence, description of wars and conquests, administration, patronage to art and literature and personal achievements of individual rulers belonging to different dynasties.

In the part II of this work, an attempt has been made to reconstruct and review the Jain political concepts and administrative ideas prevalent traditionally and practically, during the period under discussion.

The Jain Sources mainly used in this thesis may be mentioned under two heads: A. *Literary,* including (1) the *Caritas* and *Prabandhas,* (2) *Narrative Literature,* (3) *Literature on Polity,* (4) *Miscellaneous Literature,* (5) *Paṭṭāvali(s)* and (6) *Praśasti(s)* (Colophons); B. *Epigraphical,* including (1) Eulogies, (2) Donations and Grants, (3) Dedications and (4) Memorials, both official and private.

Attempts have also been made to throw new light on the following topics: Āma Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the so-called Āyudha dynasty, the date of the Pratīhāra king Vināyakapāla, the date of the accession of the Paramāra Bhoja, the early history of the Cāhamānas and Guhilotas, identification of Avantiprabhu of the Arthūna inscription of the Bānswārā Paramāra dynasty, the chronological position of Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja on the basis of a Jain inscription from Diyānā near Mt. Abu. The history of the Caulukya dynasty of Aṇahilavāda has been thoroughly revised in the light of the Jain Sources. In part II of the thesis special emphasis has been laid on Jainistic approach towards problems relating to polity and administration. The treatment under various heads mentioned above is both independent and corroborative and confirmatory.

The present writer has derived help from large number of original works which are extensively quoted in the course of this thesis. His indebtedness to various authors in this field is also great. It is not possible to mention all of them here; acknowledgment of their help has been made mostly in the foot-notes.

Like all those students who are first introduced to the world of scholarship by their teachers, the author is deeply indebted to his revered teacher Dr. Raj Bali Pāndeya, M.A., D.LITT., ex-Principal, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, and at present Professor and Head of the Department, Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Jabalpur, M.P., whose valuable guidance and sympathetic attitude have greatly helped him in the preparation and completion of this work, to whom this work is also dedicated. In this connection he also cannot forget his revered teacher the departed savant Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT., who kindly initiated and inspired him for the study and researches in the Indological field. to whom also this work is dedicated.

The author was fortunate enough to receive unbounded favour from the great savant Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., of Banaras Hindu University, whose occasional help gave him insight in the subject. His debt of gratitude has immensely increased on account of his crowning this humble work with his learned Foreword.

The author feels much thankful to Dr. Pt. Sukhalalji Sanghavī, Acārya Jinavijaya Muni, the late Pt. Nathuram Premi, Dr. Hiralal Jain and Dr. A. N. Upadhye, the doyens of Jain studies from whose critical editions and learned introductions of Jain texts the author has obtained much help and to whom like other students of Jainology, he looks forward as the beacon-light and perennial source of help and inspiration. Their timely and proper advice at the time of the All India Oriental Conference at Lucknow, curved the line of the author to achieve this present goal and saved him from going astray. As pointed out in the Publishers' Note the thesis was intended to cover the Cultural aspects also of the period but it was abandoned with the view it was too big for a single thesis. The author has keen desire and looks forward to the favourable circumstances for prosecution of his study on the other aspects from Jain Sources left by him.

The author can never forget Pandit Dalsukh Malavania, Director, L. D. Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad from whom he received constant light and unfailing inspiration and all sorts of assistance during the

period of writing this thesis. To Dr. M. D. Shastri, Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankar, Rev. Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, Dr. A. K. Narain, Dr. Subhadra Jha and Pt. Phool Chandra Shastri also the author is much obliged, who gave him all loving encouragement during the period of his stay at Varanasi and thereafter when his spirits were drooping.

The author as a research Scholar in the Banaras Hindu University was the recipient of the Singhi Jain Scholarship from the Pārśvanāth Vidyāshrama for two and half years, which made his stay and work at the University possible. He has derived much help from the well-equipped and beautiful library of the Vidyāshrama which will ever attract the Scholars engaged in the study of Jainological subjects. The author does not find suitable words to express his deep indebtedness and sincere thanks to the authorities of the said Institution and especially to Lala Harjas Rai Jain, B.A., Hon. Secretary and to Pt. Krishna Chandrācharya who always took keen interest in this work and imparted all sorts of kind help and affectionate stimuli including the provision they made for its publication. The author also likes to record his thanks to his nephew Kailash Candra Choudhary and his son Pramod Kumar Choudhary who have assisted him in preparing the Indices. Finally, he has to thank his wife Mrs. Kusuma Devi Choudhary who cheerfully put up with all domestic worries and enabled him to devote his times to the present study.

In conclusion, the author craves the readers' indulgence for any lapses and errors, typographical or other, that may still be found in the book, in spite of his best efforts to weed them out.

Muzaffarpur, G. C. CHOUDHARY

ROMAN EQUIVALENTS OF NAGARI LETTERS

Vowels

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r
ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः	
e	ai	o	au	aṁ	aḥ	

Consonants

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ			
k	kh	g	gh	ṅ			
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ			
c	ch	j	jh	ñ			
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण			
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	n			
त	थ	द	ध	न			
t	th	d	dh	n			
प	फ	ब	भ	म			
p	ph	b	bh	ṁ			
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह
y	r	l	v	ś	ṣ	s	h

ABBREVIATIONS

AAK — *Ain-i-Akbari*, Tran. by Blochmann and Jarret.
ABORI — *Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona (India).
APJLS — *Arbuda Prācīna Jain Lekha-sandoh.*
ASI — *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report.
ASI, WC — *Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle.
ASR — *Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham.
BI — *Bhāvanagar Prākṛt and Saṁskṛt Inscriptions.*
BI — *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta.
BG — *Bombay Gazetteer.*
BSS — *Bombay Sanskrit Series.*
BV — *Bhāratīya Vidyā.*
DHNI — *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vols. I & II by H. C. Ray, Calcutta.
DV — *Dvyāśraya-kāvya.*
EI — *Epigraphia Indica.*
Elliot — *History of India as told by its own Historians* by H. M. Elliot and Dowson.
GMRI — *Gujarātano Madhyakālīna Rājput Itihāsa* by D. K. Sastri.
GOS — *Gaekwad's Oriental Series:*
- II *Naranārāyaṇānanda.*
- VII *Vasantā-vilāsa mahākāvya.*
- IX *Moharājā-parājaya.*
- X *Hammīra-mada-mardana.*
- XI *Udayasundarī-kathā.*

HIG — *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāta*, ed. by G. V. Acharya.
HMK — *Hammīra-mahākāvya.*
HR — *History of Rājapūtānā*, by G. H. Ojha, Ajmer.
HSS — *Haridāsa Sanskṛt Series.*
IA — *Indian Antiquary.*
IHQ — *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
JAOS — *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASB — *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bengal.
JBBRAS — *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS — *Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society.*
JDL — *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta.

JLS	*Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
JSI	*Jain Sāhityano Itihas.*
JSLS	*Jain Silā Lekha-saṅgraha.*
JSS	*Jain Sahitya Saṅśodhaka.*
KPr.	*Kumarapāla-Prabandha*, by Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi.
Kuc	*Kumārapāla-Carita*, by Jayasiṃhasūri.
MA	*Mirāt-e-Ahmedi.*
MASB	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society*, Bengal.
MDJG	*Māṇikya candra Digambar Jain Granthamālā.*
NC	*Navasāhasāṅka-carita.*
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary.*
NSP	Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay.
PC	*Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (SJGM I).
PCa	*Prabhāvaka-carita* („ XIII).
PK	*Prabandha-kośa* („ VI).
PJLS	*Prācīna Jain Lekha-saṅgraha.*
PPS	*Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* (SJGM II).
Pra. DV	*Prākṛta Dvyāśraya-kāvya.*
PTOC	*Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference* (India).
PV	*Pṛthvīrāja-Vijaya* by Jayānaka.
RMR	*Rajaputānā Museum Report.*
SJGM	*Singhī Jain Granthamālā.*
	I *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi.*
	II *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha.*
	VI *Prabandha-kośa.*
	X *Vividha Tīrtha-kalpa*
	XIII *Prabhāvaka-carita.*
	XVII *Bṛhat-Kathākośa.*
	XVIII *Jain Pustaka Praśasti-saṅgraha.*
SS	*Sukṛta Saṅkīrtana.*
TF	*Tārikh-i-Firista.*
VTK	*Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa.*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Also known as *Vienna Oriental Journal.*
ZDMG	*Zitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischnen Gesellschaft.*

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with *Prāyaścitta*. In this chapter it is interesting to find all the Brāhmanic penances, such as *Pañcagavya* and others, side by side with such *prāyaścittas* as the worship of Jina and pilgrimage to Jain sanctuaries (*Tīrthayātrā*). On the whole, there can be little doubt, that the State under Kumārapāla, in spite of the king's inclinations towards Jainism, rested on a Brāhmanic foundation and the Jain teachers who wished to gain influence in the government were prudent enough to respect the Brāhmanic institutions and views of life. They contented themselves in tempering Brāhmanism here and there with Jain ethics.[1]

Besides these two works, many ideas on political science, though not of primary importance, are scattered throughout the Jain Kāvyas in the form of teachings or pieces of advice imparted to sons or pupils by their parents or teachers or in the form of descriptions of state-craft, morality or ethics.

(4) *Miscellaneous Literature*: The Jain writers have also made most valuable contributions to scientific, technical and other branches of Indian literature. They certainly throw some light on the political history of the period. For example, the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, a work on Sanskṛt grammar mentions the religion and the title of Bhoja; it can also be utilised for the history of Siddharāja Jayasimha. The Sanskṛt grammar of Malayagiri records the victory of Kumārapāla over Arṇorāja; the *Śabdānuśāsana* of Hemacandra refers to the war of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha with Mālavā.

Certain works on poetics and dramaturgy of the period are also of some importance. For example, *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Nemikumāra, the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* of another Vāgbhaṭa, son of Soma and the *Candonuśāsana* of Hemacandra possess certain verses of historical importance regarding the Calukya emperor, Jayasiṁha.

The *Pravacana Parīkṣā* preserves the geneology of the Cāvaḍās, the Calukyas and the Vaghelas amidst its religious discourses.

The *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa*, composed by Jinaprabhasūri, is a good work on Jain pilgrimage. It is an important work on Indian geography and history of the period. It records certain historical events also, such as the invasion of Somanāth by Mahmud of Ghazni, the death of Pṛthvīrāja, the invasion of Gujarāt and its neighbouring states by Ala-ud-Din. The authenticity of the work is proved by the fact that the author of the work was in close touch with Muhammada Shah, the successor of Ala-ud-Din. Its account, therefore, may be regarded as a contemporary one.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

PART I

POLITICAL HISTORY

CHAPTER 1

CLASSIFICATION AND VALUATION OF THE SOURCES

The Jain sources of the political history of our period (7th cent.-13th cent.) can be divided, for the sake of convenience, under two broad heads and several sub-heads. The two main heads may be called Literary and Inscriptional.

A—LITERARY SOURCES:

The Jain literature of this period is very extensive and varied, and numerous references of political value are scattered in it. The material available may be divided under the following sub-heads:——(1) *Caritas* and *Prabandhas*, (2) Narrative Literature, (3) the Literature on Polity, (4) Miscellaneous Literature, (5) the *Paṭṭāvalis*, and (6) the *Praśastis* or the colophons of the books.

(1) *The Caritas and Prabandhas*: This head also can be divided into three categories: (i) mythological, (ii) biographical and (iii) chronicles. The *Caritas* are generally of the above three characters, while the *Prabandhas* are of the character of biographies and chronicles.

(i) *Mythological*: Like Brāhmanas, Jains also have got their mythological personages, whose accounts are given in their *Caritas* and *Purāṇas*. These personages are called sixty-three *Śalākā Puruṣas* (24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*, 12 *Cakravartins*, 9 *Baladevas*, 9 *Vāsudevas* and 9 *Prativāsudevas*).

The works wherein the lives of these great men are depicted, are called *Purāṇas* and sometimes also *Caritas* by the Digambaras, while among the Śwetambaras they go by the name of *Caritas* only. *Carita* is a wider term, while the *Purāṇas* signify the lives of the ancient men. Some of the works of this category may be mentioned here, viz., the *Padma-Purāṇa*, the *Harivaṅśa-purāṇa*, the *Ādi-purāṇa*, the *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa carita*, the *Pārśvanātha carita*, the *Mahāvīra carita* and so on. These works do not, however, consist merely of life-stories of celebrated personages and saints and the episodes concerning them, but they also throw a flood of light on contemporary historical and cultural events and movements. For example, the *Harivaṅśa-purāṇa* of Jinasena of Vardhamānapura in Kāthiāvāra contains very valuable information of historical importance in the concluding verses. It mentions the names of the contemporary kings of the period (composed in 783 A.D.). It has preserved an unbroken geneology of the Jain teachers from Lord Mahāvīra onwards. It also contains a succinct chronological history of Avanti. It mentions

the Rāsabha family or tribe to which Vikramāditya belonged though it does not refer to Vikramāditya by name. It supplies information about the reigning periods of certain dynasties after the death of Mahāvīra up to the Gupta dynasty and Kalki. It also reveals how the political characteristic of the period was generally of a feudal pattern. The *Ādi-purāṇa* describes in fair agreement with the corresponding Brāhmanical rites, the Saṁskāras, consecrations, which accompany the life of an individual from his conception to his death. Short treatises on town planning, origin of the State, king's consecration. duties and art of governing are found there. Similarly, other works of this type of the period, while narrating the lives of great men, occasionally give out the full picture of the time.

The *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa carita* varies greatly in extent and interest. It gives a good social picture of the time and, side by side, refers to the political conditions and ideas on the polity of the time. Its Parvan X, entitled *Mahāvīra carita*, contains the life-story of Mahāvīra, which is important from the historical point of view regarding the king Śreṇika Bimbisāra, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha. In the form of a prophecy by Mahāvīra, Hemacandra also describes in a lengthy passage the ideal reign of his pious pupil, king Kumārapāla, who ascended the throne after 1669 years of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.

Several other Jain Mahākāvyas like *Dvisandhāna kāvya* of Dhanañjaya, the *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* of Haricandra, the *Neminirvāṇa kāvya* of Vāgbhata,[1] and others occasionally throw welcome light on the political ideas of the time.

Apart from the isolated references scattered in the vast mythological literature of the Jains, the other two categories of this class, viz., biographies and chronicles directly contribute some definite information to our knowledge of history.

(ii) *Biographical:* It is fortunate that some Jain writers of our period based their literary works on the lives of their royal patrons. Like the *Harṣa carita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati and *Vikramāṅkadeva* of Bilhaṇa. Some of the biographical works composed by the Jains, for instance, the *Kumārapāla carita* or Prakṛit *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* of Hemacandra, *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri, *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* of Arisiṁha, *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* of Udayaprabha, *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra and *Vastupāla Tejahpāla praśasti* of Jayasiṁha are of this kind. Among other biographical works may be mentioned the *Kumārapāla carita* of another Jayasiṁha. Several

[1] All the three are published in Kāvyamālā Series, N. S. Press, Bombay.

other works of the same title by various Jain writers, *Vastupāla carita* of Jinaharṣagaṇī, and *Kumārapāla-prabandha* of Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi also deserve notice. These and other works of the same category cannot be regarded as genuine history, although they contain valuable historical information. Their object was the glorification of the king rather than painting out the true picture of his life and times and they were mostly conceived of by their authors not as historical texts, but primarily as media of showing their literary skill and talent. These biographies, however, throw a flood of light on the history of Gujarāta and the neighbouring kingdoms.

(iii) *Chronicles*: The Jain writers of Gujarāta have preserved some chronicles of their time. The Sanskṛt *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* of Hemacandra may be regarded as a glaring instance of this category. This work, along with certain portions of other biographical works, enables us to trace the history of Gujarāta from the Cāvaḍās up to the Vaghela kings with fullness of detail, such as is not available to us for reconstructing the history of any other kingdom in ancient India except Kashmir. In this category we may include the Jain Prabandhas also. This kind of literature, though produced late in time, is based on old authentic traditions of the country and presents a realistic picture of the period.

While the *Caritas* are the legendary biographies of *Tīrthankaras, Cakravartins* and *Ṛṣis* of the hoary past, the *Prabandhas* are the compilations of stories and anecdotes about historical personalities—laymen as well as monks. They may be regarded as of semi-historical character and should not be entirely rejected as historical sources. Their narrations can be checked up by the study of the contemporary literary and epigraphical sources.

The Prabhāvaka carita of Prabhācandra, which is a continuation of Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭa Parvan*, the *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṇga (1306 A.D.), the *Prabandha-kośa* of Rāja Sekhara (1349 A.D.), the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* edited by Muni Jinavijaya Ji, which may be included in this class, are treasure houses of stories and fables as well as historical anecdotes.

The *Prabhāvaka-carita* deals with 23 influential monks, significant among them being Vīrasūri, Śāntisūri, Mahendrasūri, and Abhayasūri. About eight learned monks out of them lived at the time of the Calukyas. While describing their lives the author has given glimpses of the political and cultural life of the period.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* provides a very reliable source for the history of Gujarāta which is not available elsewhere. This book has been made the very

basis of their works by the authors of the *Rāsamālā* and the Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I.

The *Prabandha-kośa* contains the life stories of 24 persons, namely, 10 Jain teachers (including Hemacandra), 4 poets, 7 kings and 3 other personages.

The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* is a collection of various small and big *Prabandhas*. It has certain peculiar and important *prabandhas* like *Bhojagāṅgeya-Prabandha*, *Dhārādhvaṅśa-Prabandha*, *Pṛthvīrāja-Prabandha* and *Nādūla-Lakhan-Prabandha*.

This much can be said on the importance of the *Prabandhas* that no history of mediæval India can be considered complete without utilising the material available in them.

Certain Jain works written in the style of dramatic plays may also be regarded as the chronicles of our period. They are the *Moharājaparājaya* of Yaśahpāla, the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasimha and the *Rambhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra. The first mentioned work depicts the social, religious and political life of Gujarāta The second one throws light on the mutual relationships of the kings and the kingdoms that existed at the time of Vīradhavala (Vaghela). And the third constitutes an important source of the history of Gāhadavālas.

(2) *Narrative Literature*: "Jain literature, both canonical and still more non-canonical, is the very store house of popular stories, fairy tales and all kinds of narrative poetry."[1] The Jain monks and authors have always been more fond of telling tales than historians. They have produced a vast literature of this type in prose and verse, in Saṅskṛt, Prākṛt and Apabhraṅśa. From this branch of literature we may obtain a better knowledge of the real life of common people than from other branches of literature. This category includes many *kathās*, *ākhyānas* and *caritas*. The works written on them mostly deal with the lives of individual religious heroes such as Jivandhara, Yaśodhara, Karakaṇḍu, Nāgakumāra and Śripāla; then there are edifying tales of pious house-holders and ladies who devoted themselves to the observance of certain vows and religious practices; there are short biographies of ascetic heroes well known in early literature and lastly, there are tales of retribution, illustrating the rewards and punishments of good and bad deeds here and hereafter. The matter in all these stories consists in the motives and the doctrinal preachings. Some heroes are drawn

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[1] Winternitz: *The Jains in the History of Indian Literature*, Ahmedabad, 1946, p. 9.

from earlier literature, some from popular legends and some may be imaginary; the setting, however, is legendary.[1] The chief object of most of these tales is to edify Jainism and impress on the minds of readers the greatness and power of Jain religion and, thus, propagate in society the religio-moral ideals upheld by Jainism. These are not purely dogmatic or ethical discourses, but, after all, they are tales; and as such they are strewn with similar topics which also provide instruction and often give agreeable entertainment.

Though various stories are invariably embedded in the biographical literature in the *Purāṇas* and *Caritas*, there are separate treatises full of interesting stories. We can divide them into two sections according to their form. The first one represents the tales presented in a romantic form (*ākhyāyikā*) and independent *Kathānakas* in ornate poems. The second one is represented by the compilations of tales or the *Kathā-kośa*. In the first type may be included works like *Taraṅgāvati* of Padaliptasūri, (the original of which is lost but a shorter version of it in Prākṛt gathas under the title *Taraṅgalolā* is preserved), the *Samarāicca-kahā* of Haribhadra in Prākṛt prose with *gāthas*, a magnificent prose romance; the *Upamita-bhavaprapancā-kathā* of Siddharsi, the first elaborate Saṅskṛt allegory, and the *Bhavisatta-kathā* of Dhanapāla, a romantic epic in Apabhraṅśa. While these novels are original Jain productions, the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri (8th century), the *Yaśastilaka* of the Digambara Somadeva (959 A.D.), the *Tilakamañjarī* of another Dhanapāla (c. 1010 A.D.) which gives the geneology of the Paramāras and the *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* of Odayadeva (10th cent.) are mostly composed on the line of classical novels like Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. In the category of *Kathānakas* may be included works *like Kālakācārya-kathānaka, the Uttama-carita-kathānaka, the Campaka sresṭhi-kathānaka, Mṛgāvatī-carita* and so on. These *Kathānakas* are generally written in a kind of popular Saṅskṛt, that is, the Saṅskṛt influenced by vernaculars.

The second type of narrative literature includes a large number of works which are collections of tales, often with a frame-story such as the *Samyaktva-Kaumudī*, sometimes under the name of *Kathākośas*, some are dated and others are without dates by known and unknown authors. Dr. A. N. Upādhye has enumerated several such *Kathā-kośas* in his learned Introduction to the "*Bṛhat Kathā-kośa*" under the title "Compilations of Kathānakas: A Survey." We also get information about many more *Kathā-kośas*

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[1] *Bṛhatkathā-koṣa*, (SJGM, XVII), Introduction, p. 37.

from the *Jinaratna kośa* compiled by Prof. H. D. Velenkara. Religious and didactic instructions through stories are the main purpose of these compilations and they are designed to shape the reader into an ideal householder. They depict the life and manners of the different classes of Indian Society and in full accordance with reality. Hence, the Jain narrative literature, in the huge mass of Indian literature, is one of the most precious sources, not only of folk-lore in the most comprehensive sense of the term, but also of the history of Indian civilization.

(3) *Literature on Polity*: The Jain authors of our period have also paid special attention to *Arthaśāstra* (Polity) which is a worldly science. It is a matter of satisfaction that they have at least two works of importance on Political Science: the *Nītivākyāmṛta*[1] of Somadevasūri, the celebrated author of the *Yaśastilaka* (c. 959 A.D.), and the *Laghvarhannītiśāstra* of Hemacandra.[2]

Nītivākyāmṛta (the Nectar of the Sayings of Polity) is a handy book. It is a mixture of ethics and politics in short sūtras or aphorisms: It is independent in many details, but it is also a colourless compendium of earlier political thoughts. After the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, it is the only work which can very well be placed in the rank of the above two. The study of this work may help us a good deal to understand the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Somadeva was contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II as he refers to him by name in his *Yaśastilaka-campū*.[3] It is not unlikely that he came into contact with Mahendrapāla II (before 940-948 A.D.) of Kanauj and at his instance composed the *Nītivākyāmṛta* as is declared in an anonymous commentary.[4]

It is a note-worthy feature of Somadeva as a political thinker that he divests himself of his Jain beliefs and principles while dealing with the problems of State; he follows the universal tradition. Prof. Jolly has given a number of parallel texts from this work and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. From these it appears as if *Nītivākyāmṛta* largely and unduly copied from Kauṭilya or wrote a kind of paraphrase of it, but estimating the book as a whole, it may be stated that it is really different from Kauṭilya and very far from being a mere copy of it. It is true that Somadeva has incorporated some passages literally or almost literally from Kauṭilya and

[1] Published in *MDJG.*, N. XXII.

[2] Ahmedabad, 1906.

[3] Kāvyamālā (N.S.P. Bombay) No. 70, I, vs 1 & 220; Pt. Premi, *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 67–9.

[4] Raghavan, NIA., VI, pp. 67–9.

paraphrased some other passages from him. It seems that in that age, which politically was rather decadent, Somadeva cries "back to Kauṭilya." But above all, the character of the two books is quite different. The work of Kauṭilya is a pure *Arthaśāstra* in which *Dharma* is recognised only in so far as it may also help the acquirement of *artha,* while in the *Nītivākyāmṛta* the term *Nīti* is used not only in the sense of "political wisdom" but also of "moral conduct." And the whole work is not like *Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra,* a practical hand-book of politics and economics, but rather a book of good counsels for kings. Even when in *Nītivākyāmṛta* the same subjects are treated as in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we find that Somadeva gives more general rules of conduct where Kautilya emphasises the details of political practice. What is primarily important to Kauṭilya is more or less of secondary importance to Somadeva.[1]

Frequently, Somadeva taps other sources and from the commentary available on the work we get about 20 new writers on *Arthaśāstra* whose names are not found in other places. Probably, they are all later than Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka as they do not figure either in the code or the epitome. But he puts all this matter in such a way and shows such a dexterity in weaving out all these ideas and adding some of his own that he has placed himself in the rank of original thinkers. His work may be regarded as an index to the political temper of his age.

Another work named *Laghvarhannītiśāstra* is supposed to have been composed by the celebrated author, Hemacandra, and is an extract of a larger work in Prākṛt, the *Brahadarhannītiśāstra,* which Hemacandra wrote for king Kumārapāla of Gujarāta.

This work has more the character of a *Dharmaśāstra* (law) than that of a *Nītiśāstra* (polity). But the main topics of the Nītiśāstra proper are generally found here. The first part (*Adhikāra*) contains instructions and rules of conduct for kings, ministers, generals and other state officials. This is somewhat different from what we find in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and other *Nītiśāstras*. The second part (*Adhikāra*), too, has much in common with the chapter on the six methods of politics (*Ṣāḍgunya*) as described in the *Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra* and elsewhere. *Nīti* is said to be threefold, consisting of war, punishment and judicial procedure. In the third *Adhikāra* the *Vyavahāra* or civil and criminal Law is treated in the same way as in Manu's Law book. The fourth and last *Adhikāra* deals

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[1] Winternitz, *The Jains in the History of Indian Literature,* (Ahmedabad), p. 38.

with *Prāyaścitta*. In this chapter it is interesting to find all the Brāhmanic penances, such as *Pañcagavya* and others, side by side with such *prāyaścittas* as the worship of Jina and pilgrimage to Jain sanctuaries (*Tirthayātrā*). On the whole, there can be little doubt, that the State under Kumārapāla, in spite of the king's inclinations towards Jainism, rested on a Brāhmanic foundation and the Jain teachers who wished to gain influence in the government were prudent enough to respect the Brāhmanic institutions and views of life. They contented themselves in tempering Brāhmanism here and there with Jain ethics.[1]

Besides these two works, many ideas on political science, though not of primary importance, are scattered throughout the Jain Kāvyas in the form of teachings or pieces of advice imparted to sons or pupils by their parents or teachers or in the form of descriptions of state-craft, morality or ethics.

(4) *Miscellaneous Literature*: The Jain writers have also made most valuable contributions to scientific, technical and other branches of Indian literature. They certainly throw some light on the political history of the period. For example, the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, a work on Sanskṛt grammar mentions the religion and the title of Bhoja: it can also be utilised for the history of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. The Sanskṛt grammar of Malayagiri records the victory of Kumārapāla over Arṇorāja: the *Śabdānuśāsana* of Hemacandra refers to the war of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha with Mālavā.

Certain works on poetics and dramaturgy of the period are also of some importance. For example, *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Nemikumāra, the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* of another Vāgbhaṭa, son of Soma and the *Candonuśāsana* of Hemacandra possess certain verses of historical importance regarding the Calukya emperor, Jayasiṁha.

The *Pravacana Parīkṣā* preserves the geneology of the Cāvaḍās, the Calukyas and the Vaghelas amidst its religious discourses.

The *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa*, composed by Jinaprabhasūri, is a good work on Jain pilgrimage. It is an important work on Indian geography and history of the period. It records certain historical events also, such as the invasion of Somanāth by Mahmud of Ghazni, the death of Pṛthvīrāja, the invasion of Gujarāt and its neighbouring states by Ala-ud-Din. The authenticity of the work is proved by the fact that the author of the work was in close touch with Muhammada Shah, the successor of Ala-ud-Din. Its account, therefore, may be regarded as a contemporary one.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The above are some of the important sources. Similarly there is lying a vast body of miscellaneous literature of considerable historical value contained in the Jain Bhaṇḍāras.

(5) *Paṭṭāvalis*: They are the extant chronological works written in various languages such as Saṁskṛt, Prākṛt, Kannaḍ etc. They record a succession of important persons, e.g., saints, rulers, merchant-princes since the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra up to the middle ages. The Jain writers have preserved a large mass of this type of literature. The *Paṭṭāvali-samuccaya* edited by Muni Darśanavijaya Ji, *Tapāgaccha Paṭṭāvali*, *Khartaragaccha paṭṭāvali*, all of them belonging to the Swetāmbara sect and certain paṭṭāvali of the Digambara sect published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, the *Jain Hitaiṣi*, Vol. II, and the *Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara* Vol. I, deserve particular mention here. Among them, the most important for our period is the *Vicāraśreṇi* or the *Therāvali* of Merutunga. It gives the geneological list of the Cāvaḍas, Caulukyas and Vaghelas with chronology. As these works were meant to be chronological draped with dynastic lists and sketches, we do not expect biographical details from them. They, however, do not suffer from poetic imageries and exaggerations.

(6) *Praśastis (Colophons)*: Most of the Jain works of our period are dated and attached with valuable colophons. These colophons contain important geneological lists of Jain teachers, references to contemporary rulers, their ministers, generals, important officials and pious men and women who liberally contributed to get those works composed. They are very valuable sources of the chronological history of India. They may be regarded to some extent as important and reliable as the stone records and copper plates for the socio-religious history of the period concerned. The only difference worth mentioning between the two is, that while the former are written on perishable materials like paper and palm leaves, the latter are engraved on imperishable materials like stone and metals. But as far as the details and constructions are concerned, both are one and the same from the historical point of view.

The *Praśastis* are of two varieties. The first is related with the author himself and the second with the copyist. In the author's *praśasti*, the author records his due gratitude to previous authors, pays his homage to his teachers, gives their pedigrees, narrates his gaṇa and gaccha, date and place of composition and the name of the ruling king and his officials. Thus as contemporary records, they are a very important source for the reconstruction of the political and social history of the country. They also furnish information about the religious and literary activities of the time.

In the second variety we get information about the donor, his family, pedigree, caste and clan. This variety of colophons may be useful for writing the social history of the period.

Extensive literary activities in the reigns of the Paramāras, Cāhamānas, Caulukyas and Guhilotas created a large mass of *praśastis*. On account of their great historical value, certain separate collections have also been published. Special mention in this connection may be made here of the catalogues of MSS of Jain Bhaṇḍāras at Pāṭan, Jesalamer, Limbaḍī, Baroda and Ahmadabād, *the Jain Pustaka-Praśasti-saṅgraha* edited by Muni Jinavijaya Ji, the *Praśasti-saṅgraha* from Ahmadabad, a *Praśasti-saṅgraha* edited by K. Bhujbali Śāstri and the *Praśasti-saṅgraha* by Kastoor Chand Kāsalivāla.

B—Inscriptions:

We have a large number of Jain inscriptions of our period to reconstruct ancient Indian history. They are mostly found engraved on the pedestals of images, rocks or stone pillars and copper plates. Most of them are dated. As they are written or engraved on the material of imperishable nature, they do not suffer any modification and alteration to which literary works are often exposed. Therefore, the information they contain is of primary importance.

Most of the Jain inscriptions have been composed by the Jain teachers. They are met with generally in religious places and Jain temples, but some of the inscriptions, although composed by Jain teachers, have also been found in temples or places other than Jain. For example, the Sundhā Hill inscription composed by Jayamaṅgala of Bṛhadgaccha is found in the Cāmuṇḍā temple of that place;[1] the Cittorgarh inscription of Kumārapāla composed by the Digambara Rāmakīrti is found in the Mokalji temple at Cittorgarh.[2] Similarly the Gwalior Sāsabahū inscription of Kacchapaghāṭas composed by Yaśodeva Digambara[3] and Ghāghasā and Cirwā inscription of the Guhilots composed by Ratnaprabhasūri[4] may also be numbered among them. It is not to be supposed that they were removed from the Jain possessions to these places, but, contrary to this, they were purposely composed by the Jain teachers for the use of people other than the Jains, for we know there is nothing in them which relates them to Jains except

[1] *EI.*, IX, pp. 70–79.
[2] *EI.*, II, pp. 421–24.
[3] *IA.*, XV, pp. 33–36.
[4] *RMR.*, 1927, p. 3 and *WZKM*, XXI, pp. 142–62,

the name, pedigree or gaṇa, gaccha of the Jain teachers in the concluding verses. Even the invocatory verses of these inscriptions are not dedicated to the Jain gods and goddesses. They usually invoke the non-Jain deities with certain exceptions marked with 'Om Sarvajñāya Namaḥ' or 'Padmanāthāya namaḥ'. These facts eloquently testify to the catholicity of the Jain teachers. We have included all these inscriptions among our sources.

We find the Jain epigraphs recorded from the very early period of Indian history and they are of considerable historical significance. They are not confined to a particular period or locality. But the inscriptions used here are generally found in Central and Western parts of India.

About the importance of some of the Jain inscriptions it may be said that they are the only source regarding certain dynasties. For example, the Gwalior and Dubkuṇḍa branches of the Kacchapaghāṭas and the Hathuṇḍi branch of northern Rāṣṭrakūṭas are known from these inscriptions only.

The Jain inscriptions of our period may be broadly divided into two classes, official and private. By far the largest number of these inscriptions are of private character. The official records, though small in number, are in most cases, the *Praśastis*, i.e., eulogies of kings written by their court poets or temple or land grants or charters, viz., the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin (II), the Cālukya king, written by the Jain poet Ravikīrti[1], the Vaḍanagar *Praśasti* of Kumārapāla, composed by the Jain poet Śripāla[2], the Sāsabahū temple inscription of Mahīpāla, the Kacchapaghāṭa prince, composed by the Jain Yaśodeva[3], the Dubkuṇḍa inscription of Vikramasiṁha of the same family composed by the Jain Vijayakīrti[4], the Bījāpur inscription of Dhavala Rāṣṭrakūṭa[5], the Sundhā Hill inscription of Cāciga-Cāhamāna composed by Jayamaṅgala[6] and so many others belong exactly to this class. We have shown their importance in their proper places.

The Jain records of private character cover a wide range from a short votive inscription of two or three words to highly poetical compositions, glorifying an individual or family. They throw light on various aspects of society. In certain cases they throw direct light on the political history of the period as they are issued from persons closely associated with a royal family. For example, most of the inscriptions found from Mt. Ābu, Girnāra

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[1] *EI.*, VI, pp. 1 ff.
[2] *EI.*, I., pp. 296-305.
[3] *IA.*, XV. pp. 33-36.
[4] *EI.*, II.,pp. 232-40.
[5] *EI.*, X, pp. 17 ff.
[6] *EI.*, IX, pp. 70-79.

and Satruñjaya in Northern India and the inscriptions found from Śravaṇa-Velgolā in Southern India belong to this class. Most of them are issued by governors of provinces, generals or ministers of states and by brothers or sons of kings in their private capacity. A good many are engraved on the image pedestals of gods or on religious buildings recording pious donations. These constitute the chief sources of fixing the dates of these images or buildings and have proved of immense help in tracing the evolution of art and religion and determining their general conditions in any specified period.

Certain separate collections of the Jain inscriptions have been published by scholars. The *Prāchīna Jain Lekha-saṅgraha* by Muni Jinavijaya Ji, the *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha* in three parts published by Pūraṇacandra Nāhar, the Jain *Śilālekhasaṅgraha* in three parts published by the Maṇikyacandra Dig Jain Granthmālā, the *Arbuda Prāchīna Jain Lekha-saṅgraha* in five parts by Muni Jayanta Vijaya Ji, the *Jain Dhātupratimā Lekha-saṅgraha* by Buddhisāgarasūri, the *Prāchīna Lekha-saṅgraha* by Vijayadharmasūri, the *Jain Dhātu Pratimā Lekha* by Muni Kāntisāgar, and so many other collections deserve to be mentioned here.

On the whole, it may be said that the Jain inscriptions of our period are of great value in supplementing the sources of the ancient history of India. Some of them refer to ruling kings otherwise unknown and many of them supply dates of kings in a specified or unspecified era. They have enabled the historians to reconstruct the history of certain localities on a solid basis.

CHAPTER II

THE DYNASTIES OF MADHYADEŚA

BACKGROUND:

We know from epigraphic as well as literary sources that the imperial Gupta power came to its end in A.D. 455, though it lingered on up to the middle of the sixth century A.D. and thereafter disappeared, not to survive again. The incursions of the Hūnas and the uprising of the Puṣyabhūtis which began from the latter half of the fifth century remained unabated till the disappearance of the Gupta empire and hence it created a period of disorder and chaos. The main consequence of this situation was the total absence of any strong central power in the then Indian politics. There were also signs of degeneration and of dissension in the imperial line itself and the devotion of the more loyal feudatories could not save the empire from dissolution.

Towards the close of the fifth century and early in the sixth century A.D. the Hūna power rapidly spread over N.W. and Central India. It is said that the Hūṇas were a race of savage barbarians who came from the steppes of Central Asia and had in the fifth century A.D. spread in devastating hordes over some of the fertile provinces of the Roman empire in the west and the Gupta empire in India. Their early raids into India were repulsed by Skandagupta, but they renewed their attacks when the great emperor was no more. Toramāna and his son Mihirakula are the two Hūṇa leaders famous in ancient Indian history who led the Hūṇa incursions on Indian soil. Mihirakula is known to us from inscriptions and coins as well as from the accounts of Yuan-Chwang and Kalhana.

Apart from these accounts some of the stories regarding the Kalkirāja preserved in Jain literature bear witness to Mihirakula's tyrannical rule.[1] Jain author Jinasena (8th cent. A.D.) in his *Harivaṅśa-purāṇa* assigned forty-two years to Kalkirāja after the reign of 231 years of the Guptas.[2] Kalkirāja has rightly been identified with Mihirakula by the late

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[1] *Tiloy Paṇṇatti*, I, Vs. 101–106.

[2] Chap. 60, Vs. 491–492: भद्रवाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम्,
एकविंशश्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतं ।
द्विचत्त्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता,
ततोऽजितंजयो राजा स्यादिन्द्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥

See also, *Tiloy Paṇṇatti*, I, Vs. 95–99.

Dr. K. B. Pāthak[3]

Besides the Hūṇas, the new aspirants for imperial power were mainly Yaśodharman of Mālavā, Maukharis of Kānyakubja and the Puṣyabhūtis of Thāneśwar. All these new emerging powers at the outset of their career were bound to wage wars against the devastating Hūṇas who had seized a large portion of the Gupta empire and were threatening to establish their hold in the Madhyadeśa.

Out of this confusion and struggle arose the famous dynasty of the Puṣyabhūtis of Thāneśwar near Kurukṣetra, which succeeded in arresting the growth of the power of Maukharis and establishing a powerful kingdom near the territory of the Hūṇas. Such was the condition in the closing decades of the sixth century.

I. PUṢYABHUTIS

Harṣa: Among the rulers of the Puṣyabhuti dynasty only Harṣa (-vardhana), the greatest of his line, is mentioned in the Jain sources. The first document which throws light on Harṣa is the Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti of the time of Pulikeśin II, dated 556 Śaka or A.D. 634. It contains an eulogistic account of the Cālukya family and especially of the numerous and wide conquest of the great Cālukya emperor Pulikeśin II, also called Satyarāja,[2] just as the Allāhābād Pillar inscription describes the conquests of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. There is no reason to suppose that the account given by the poet is either false or exaggerated. We know from this inscription a number of dynasties that ruled in the Deccan in the beginning of the seventh century A.D., as we know from the Allāhābād inscription of the dynasties that ruled in India in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. This inscription clearly states that Pulikeśin was the emperor of almost the whole of Southern India as from other sources we know that Harṣavardhan was the emperor of almost the whole of Northern India at the same time.[3]

The verse number twenty-three of this inscription, with regard to the greatest achievement of Pulikeśin II, states that he forced Harṣa, the paramount sovereign of Northern India, whose military success was otherwise

[1] Jaina Hitaiṣi, Vol. 13, No. 12 *Kalki Avatāra Ki Aitihāsikatā*, and *Gupta Rājāon Ka kāla, Mihirakula aur Kalki.*

[2] *EI.*, VI, pp. 1–10

[3] *IA.*, VI, p. 828: समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः श्रीवल्लभो महाराजाधिराजः।

unbroken, to retire discomfited. The verse states thus: "Harṣa, whose lotus feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Pulikeśin had his joy (Harṣa) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle."[1] Another verse (24) in the same description shows that the scene of the battle must have been somewhere about the Vindhya and the banks of the Revā (Narmadā) forming the northern limits of the empire of Pulikeśin, where his large armies were encamped and had checked the progress of Harṣa.[2] This Jain evidence is corroborated by other contemporary documents. During the period 618-627, the Chinese chroniclers record serious disturbances in India, and Śilāditya (Harṣa) is represented as punishing the kings of the four parts of the country. What specific contests are meant is not made clear either by the Chinese writers or the grants of Harsa himself issued between A.D. 628 and 631. But the Aihole inscription is the first document from which we know that some time before 634 A.D. Harṣa marched southwards as far as Narmadā. The statement of the Jain inscription has been remarkably confirmed by the account of the famous Chinese traveller Yuan-Chwang: "the great king Śilāditya at this time was invading east and west and countries far and near were owning allegiance to him, but Ma-ha-la-cha (i.e. Mahārāṣtra) refused to become subject to him under its great king Pulikeśin II."[3] That the two emperors met in actual fight is also stated in the Life of Yuan-Chwang: "Śilāditya Rājā, boasting of his skill and invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince (Pulikesin II) but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him, although he has gathered troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries."[4]

The date of the inscription is given in verses 33 and 34 in two eras — the Śaka 556 and the Bhārata War, 3735 which corresponds to the Christian

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[1] *EI.*, VI. pp. 6–10 V. 23: अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेना,
मकुटमणिमयूखाक्रान्तपादारविन्दः ।
युधिपतितगजेन्द्रानीकबीभत्सभूतो,
भयविगलितहर्षो येन चाकारि हर्षः ॥

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 24: भुवमुरुभिरनीकैश्शासतो यस्य रेवा, विविधपुलिनशोभावन्ध्यविन्ध्योपकण्ठः ।
अधिकतरमराजत्स्वेन तेजोमहिम्ना, शिखरिभिरिभावर्ज्यो वर्ष्मणा स्पर्द्धयेव ॥

[3] Watters, II, p. 239.

[4] Beal, Life of Yuan Chwang, p. 147.

year 634-35. Many scholars doubt the accuracy of the date of this inscription[1] but the probability of the date in question can be judged from the account of the Chinese traveller.

Further corroborations of this defeat of Harṣa by Pulikeśin are obtained from many other inscriptions of this dynasty in which Pulikeśin has always been referred to as defeating the glorious Śri Harṣa, the lord of the whole northern country in consequence of which he acquired the second title of Parameśvara.[2]

Regarding the date of Harṣa's conflict with Pulikeśin what we know from this inscription is simply that it happened before 634-35, the date of the Aihole inscription. Yuan Chwang's statement, that the engagement took place when Harṣa was invading remote countries, further shows that it was probably after his eastern campaigns and conquests. Some scholars, from the earliest and the latest limits of the conquest of Harṣa, (i.e. 625-634), have assigned the year 630 A.D. as the probable date of the event.[3]

What was the cause of this serious conflict? The answer to this query probably lies in the Aihole inscription, which informs us that "subdued by his (Pulikeśin's) splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavās, and Gurjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave."[4] Commenting on this passage, Dr. Kielhorn remarked that the powers[5] mentioned above, being impressed by the majesty and power of Pulikeśin had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection.[6] This must surely have been when they were threatened by the aggressions of the Kanauj king and Pulikeśin willingly helped them in their distress. The confederacy thus formed was a formidable one, "resulting in Harṣa's complete discomfiture."

The Aihole inscription also throws some light on Harṣa as a mighty ruler. It is mentioned that he was a suzerain lord to whom the host of wealthy feudatories owned allegiance and who had an army of lordly elephants.[7] This indicates that Harṣa enjoyed paramountcy over a large number of kings in Northern India.

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[1] JBBRAS., XIV, 1878–80, pp. 16 ff.

[2] IA., VI & VIII.

[3] ABORI, XIII (1932), pp. 300–06.

[4] *EI.*, VI, pp. 6–10, V. 22 : [illegible]
[illegible]

[5] They are obviously to be identified with the Broach and Valabhi kingdoms.

[6] *EI.*, VI. pp. 6–10, V. 22. quoted above.

[7] *Ibid.*, V. 24 : [illegible] ।
[illegible] etc.

Harṣa was not only a ruler but he was also a celebrated author and liberal patron of learning. Among the literary luminaries of his court Bāṇa, Mayūra and Mānatuṅga have been frequently referred to in Jain literature.[1] There are several interesting stories regarding the cordial relation between him and Bāṇa and Mayūra. Bāṇa is said to be the son-in-law of the poet Mayūra. Mayūra was the celebrated author of *Sūryaśataka*. Harṣa himself was a good poet. Sōḍḍala invariably mentions him along with the other poet kings, (*Kavīndraiśca Vikramāditya-Śrīharṣa-Muñja-Bhojadevādibhūpālaiḥ.*[2]) The Jain poet Svayambhū of the 8th century mentions Śri Harṣa as a poet well versed while his court poet Bāṇa as verbose.[3] Svayambhū says: '*Siriharisen Niyaṇatti*', which reminds us of the line '*Śriharṣo Nipuṇo Kaviriti*' of the famous dramatic work *Nāgānand* which is supposed to have been composed by King Harsa himself. Śrīharṣa mentioned by this early poet of the eighth century A.D. cannot be the later poet Śri Harṣa, a famous author of *Naiṣadhīya carita* who is obviously much later in age than the poet Svayambhū himself. In the *Prabhāvaka-carita* of the thirteenth century A.D. Vārāṇasī is mentioned as the capital of Śrī Harṣa. A suggestion may be made here that it might have been regarded as a second capital city of Harṣa.[4]

II YAŚOVARMAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Yaśovarman: The Jainas have no record of the death of Harṣa and of his successor on the throne of Kanauj. The earliest monarch whose name has been recorded in literature and also in the Nālandā[5] inscription after the death of Harṣa is Yaśovarman. On the career and exploits of this king sufficient light has been thrown by two well known works, viz., *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati and

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[1] *P.C.*, p. 41: मयूरबाणाभिधानौ-पण्डितौ............मिथः स्पर्द्धमानौ नृपसदसि लब्धप्रतिष्ठावभूताम्।
PCA., p. 112: श्रीमानतुङ्गसूरिचरितम्
PPS., p. 15: तत्र पुरि भर्त्ता श्रनामा मयूरो नाम महाकविरस्ति। तस्य श्रीनाम्नी पुत्री रूपवती तदनुरूपं बाणनामानं कविमुद्वाहिता।

[2] *GOS.*, XI, p. 150

[3] Svayambhu, *Riṭṭhanemicariu*, I, 144

[4] *SJGM*, XIII, p. 112: पुरी वाराणसीत्यस्ति साक्षादिव दिवः पुरी, तत्र श्रीहर्षदेवाख्यो राजा न तु कलंकभृत्।

[5] *EI.*, XX, pp. 39-40.

Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. Some Jain works also cast side-lights on his chronology and successors. Mention may be made here of some of the important works like *Prabhāvaka-carita* of Prabhācandra, *Prabandha-kośa* of Rājaśekhara, *Bappabhaṭṭi-Sūri-carita* of Māṇikyasūri, *Vividhateertha-kalpa* of *Jinaprabhasūri* and *Tapāgacchapaṭṭāvali* of Dharmasāgargaṇi. Though these Jain works are not contemporary records like the *Gaudavaho*, the material preserved by continuous tradition in them contains details of historical character.[1] These Jain works range from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century A.D. As regards the authoritativeness of contents of the works, the authors themselves say that they have taken their narratives from the tradition handed down by learned men as well as by previous works.[2] And from the point of view of history such a tradition coming about six or seven generations later cannot be absolutely discarded. Among these works the life of Bappabhaṭṭisūri contains the material for our purpose and may be regarded as a reliable source for the chronology of Yaśovarman and his successors.

Lineage: The question of the lineage of Yaśovarman is still shrouded in mystery. Vākpati the author of the *Gauḍavaho* praises him as "an ornament to the Lunar race of kings."[3] Cunningham thinks that he is a descendant of the Maukharis, having the common termination—*varman* of the dynasty,[4] but the Jain works on the other hand, represent Yaśovarman as "the illustrious ruler of Kānyakubja, who was the head-jewel of the famous dynasty of Candragupta, and who made illustrious the already illustrious family of the Mauryas.[5] It is interesting to add that the *Prabhāvaka carita* (13th cent. A.D.) also described Yaśovarman as having descended from and been a bright ornament in the family of Candragupta.[6] But the

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[1] Aiyangar, S. K., *Ancient India*, (1941), p. 345 ff. See also *JBBRAS*, III, May, 1928, pp. 103.

[2] (i) *PCA* (*SJGM*, XIII), p. 1: बहुश्रुतमुनीशेभ्यः प्राग्ग्रन्थेभ्यश्च कानिचित् ।
उपश्रुत्येतिवृत्तानि वर्णयिष्ये कियन्त्यपि

(ii) *PK.*, (*SJGM*, VI), p. .. इदानीं वयं गुरुमुखश्रुतानां विस्तीर्णानां रसाढ्यानां चतुर्विंशतेः प्रबन्धानां संग्रहं कुर्वाणाः स्मः ।

[3] *Gauḍavaho* (S. P. Pandit's ed.). Vs. 1064–65. See also Introduction p. XXXIX.

[4] *ASIR.*, XV, p. 164; See also E.A. Pires, *The Maukharis*, pp. 136–37.

[5] *IA.*, IX, pp. 171, 181, *Bappabhaṭṭisūri carita*, V. 13.

[6] *Vs.* 45–46: वर्यमौर्यमहागोत्रसम्भूतस्य महाद्युतेः श्री चन्द्रगुप्तभूपालवंशमुक्तामणिश्रियः ।
कान्यकुब्जयशोवर्मभूपतेः .... ।

kings of the Maurya dynasty did not take names ending in *Varman*. It may be said that the family names and surnames may change in course of a long period of time. We, however, have no other evidence to corroborate the Jain statement.

Period: As regards the period of the reign of Yaśovarman, while other sources are draped in vagueness, the Jain writers supply us a fairly correct clue. Most of them state that he was ruling in V.E. 800 or 743 A.D. and Prabhācandra and Rājaśekharasūri, the authors of the *Prabhāvaka-carita* and the *Prabandha kośa* respectively, lead us a step further. They inform us that a Jain saint named Bappabhaṭṭi, who was initiated as a monk in V.E. 807 converted to Jainism, Āmarāja, the son and successor of Yaśovarman. Bappabhaṭṭi was next raised to the dignity of Sūri in V E. 811 after his royal disciple had ascended the throne. It is thus evident that Yaśovarman must have died some time between the years 807 V.E.[1] and 811 V.E.[2] corresponding to 750 and 753 A.D. i.e. about the year 752.[3] The probability of these dates is confirmed by what is said of Yaśovarman in Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and is further corroborated from the Chinese history of the Tang period.[4]

Conquest: Though we know much of the conquering expeditions of Yaśovarman from other sources, Jain sources, however, do not provide us any such material. The main source of these expeditions is the *Gaudavaho*, a Prākṛt poem of Vākpatirāja, which mentions that King Yaśovarman invaded the country of Gauḍa and killed the king. But strange enough no name of the king of that country is mentioned there. Over this historians have conjectured much and according to some[5] the king of Gauda was Jīvitagupta II and according to others[6] he was most probably Rājarāja Bhaṭṭa of the Khadga dynasty. The *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* on the other hand clearly says that at one time previously another Dharma of Bengal was defeated by Yaśovarman and ultimately killed in the battle field. Vākpatirāja himself was taken prisoner,

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[1] *PCA.*, XI, pp. 80–82 (*SJGM*, XIII). V. 28 : शताष्टके वर्षाणां गते विक्रमकालतः।
सप्ताधिके राधशुक्लतृतीयादिवसे गुरौ ॥

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 115 : एकादशाधिके तत्र जाते वर्षशताष्टके।
विक्रमात्सोऽभवत्सूरिः कृष्णचैत्राष्टमीदिने ॥
See also *PK.*, pp. 27, 29 (*SJGM.*, VI).

[3] See also the Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, II, p. 432.

[4] Aiyangar, S. K. *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, (1941), pp. 366–367.

[5] Banerji, R. D. Mem. As. Soc. Beng., V, N. 3, p. 43.

[6] Basak, R. G. *The History of North-East India*, p. 208.

carried over to Kanauj and was kept in prison there. He then composed the poem, *Gauḍavaho* and presenting it to the king he secured his release from prison.[1] Who was this Dharma and to which dynasty he belonged we certainly do not know. But we may infer that he must have been different from the King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, the period of whose reign is much later than that of Yaśovarman. Perhaps he may be one of the kings among the two or three predecessors of Dharmapāla whose names are given in the Tibetan list between Gopāla and Dharmapāla.[2]

Poet Vākpati: As regards the literary activities of Yaśovarman, he was depicted as a poet and patron of letters by *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and others. But on this point the Jain sources do not throw much light. They, however, associate Yaśovarman with the poet Vākpatirāja. Hitherto we had known of Vākpatirāja only from what is contained in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. The *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* throws a good deal more light upon the life and work of Vākpatirāja. Vākpati is described as "the head jewel of the Kṣatriyas and born of the Paramāra clan."[3] He is described in one place a *Sāmantanāyaka*, chief of the Sāmantas.[4] In another place he is described as chief of the Brahmavids[5] (those versed in Brāhmanical learning and philosophy). He was a poet at the court of a king, Dharma of Bengāl, a predecessor of Dharmapāla II. Yaśovarman undertook an invasion of Bengal, defeated Dharma in war and subsequently killed him in battle. Vākpati was among the prisoners whom Yaśovarman kept in prison after his victorious return to Kānyakubja. He composed the *Gauḍavadha* celebrating the exploit apparently of Yaśovarman's invasion of Bengal and thus secured release from prison. In all probability, he took himself away from Kanauj and returned to the court

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[1] *PCA.*, XI, p. 908 (*SJGM*, XIII), Vs. 463 & 464:
यशोवर्मनृपोधर्ममन्यदा चाभ्यषेणयत्। तस्माद् द्विगुणतन्त्रस्तं भूपं युद्धेऽवधीन्तवलौ ॥
तत्र वाक्पतिराजश्च बन्धे तं निवेशनः। काव्यं गौडवधं कृत्वा तस्माच्च स्वममोचयत् ॥

[2] Gopal: 660–705 A.D., Devapāla, 705–753 A.D.: See Appendix, *History of Mediæval Indian Logic*, S.C. Vidyābhuṣaṇa.

[3] Cf. *PCA.*, p. 96, V. 394: परमारमहावंशसम्भूतः क्षत्रियाग्रणीः।
तस्य वाक्पतिराजोऽस्ति विद्वान् निरुपमप्रभः ॥

See also *PK.*, p. 35: परमारवंश्यं नरेन्द्रं महाकविं वाक्पतिनामानं स्वमेवकं महाराज समाययौ।

There is no doubt that the tradition was a confused one. But it is likely that he may be an earlier member of the famous Paramāra king of this name.

[4] *PCA.*, p. 102, V. 567: वाक्पतिराजसामन्तं पर्यंकासनसंस्थितम्।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 104 V. 602: वाक्पतिराजोऽस्य राजा यो ब्रह्मविदाम्।

of Bengal and was much respected court-poet in the court of Dharmapāla of Bengal himself. He felt at one time that Dharmapāla did not show him the respect due to his position because of the intrigues of Vardhanakuñjara, a Buddhist teacher and controversialist who had some influence with Dharmapāla. Therefore he retired from Bengal and reached the court of Āmarāja the son and successor of Yaśovarman, where he became very soon a favourite of king Āmarāja and Bappabhaṭṭisūri. He lived at the court as a highly honoured poet, and composed during his stay there two poems, *Gauḍa Bandha* (a different work from *Gauḍavadha*) and *Madra-mahī-vijaya* (conquest of Madra country, East Punjab), both of them apparently in honour of Āma, who doubled his enmity in consequence.[1] After some time, feeling dissatisfied that Āma was not up to the height of his position in respect of his conduct he retired to Mathurā. He was a staunch Vaiṣṇava and was about to put an end to himself by a process of religious starvation when he was rescued from imminent death by Bappabhaṭṭi's intervention. It is said that he became a convert to Jainism and after undergoing severe penances in Mathurā voluntarily starved himself to death (*anaśana*) in accordance with the Jain rule for men desirous of making a good end.[2] These are the details regarding the life of Vākpatirāja which have not been available from other sources. As regards the details of this tradition, we have no other sources of verification and confirmation. But it must be said that there is nothing which goes against this tradition. A not very long duration of time between the events described and the recording of these traditions is certainly in favour of the correctness of the account.

Āma Nāgāvaloka: According to the Jain sources Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Āma and Āma by his son Dunduka and Dunduka by his son Bhoja. We know nothing about these successors of Yaśovarman from other sources and, therefore, it gives special importance to the Jain sources. Almost all Jain works written on the life of Bappabhaṭṭisūri unanimously associate Sūri with king Āma,[3] and state that Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Āma, born of Yaśodevi during the temporary exile caused by the

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[1] *Ibid.*, XI, (*SJGM*, XIII), 463–477.

[2] *Ibid.*, XX, (*SJGM*, XVII), pp. 99–105.

[3] (i) *Pattāvali-Samuccaya*, edited by Muni Darśanvijaya, p. 52 — in the *Tapāgaccha Pattāvali*: येनामराजा प्रतिबोधितः

(ii) Jinaprabhasūri, *Vividhateerthakalpa*, (*SJGM*, X), p. 19: आमरायसेविय चलकमलेण सिरिबप्पभट्टसूरिणा।

(iii) A *Paṭṭāvali* by Ravivardhana gani, V.E. 1739.

jealousy of a co-wife[1] and Bappabhaṭṭi was his preceptor who taught him all the seventy-two arts[2] and converted him to Jainism. The story of Bappabhaṭṭisūri is a long one, written for the purpose of glorification of Bappabhaṭṭisūri and of King Āma in his association. We get, however, some remarkable historical materials from the story. It is stated there, firstly, that King Āma bore the title '*Nāgāvaloka*' conferred upon him by Bappabhaṭṭisūri due to his taking hold of a poisonous cobra which succeeded in killing a mongoose in fight. By this title the king became known thereafter the world over.[3] Secondly, it alleged there that King Āma, during a considerable period of his reign, was at enmity with the ruler of Bengāl, who is stated to have been known by the name Dharma and Dharmabhūpala or Dharmabhūpa almost certainly Dharmapāla of Bengal. Dharma actually states himself, in the course of the narrative, that, having been thwarted several times, it became *difficult for him to control his long cherished feeling of enmity to King* Āma of Kanauj.[4] Thirdly it states a long period of King Āma's reign from V.E. 800 to 890[5] or A.D. 743 to 833-34.

These are some of the points which are to be discussed here in the light of the other available sources. As regards the first and third points a confusion arises from the history and chronology of Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty, which records a king Nāgabhaṭa bearing the title Nāgāvaloka whose known date from the inscription[6] is V.E. 872 or 815 A.D. The period, therefore. seems to correspond with Āma-Nāgāvaloka, since he died in A.D. 853. The confusion increases still further when we look into the possible grounds for identification. We know from the narrative that Āma-Nāgāvaloka had a son by name Dunduka who had a son Bhoja. Similarly Nāgabhaṭa II had for his son Rāmabhadra and had a grandson who too bore the name of Bhoja. Thus both of them had a grandson by name Bhoja, but the names of the sons differ. On the basis of this resemblance many scholars have attempted to

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[1] *PCA.*, XI, (*SJGM*, XIII), Vs. 53 & 54.
नाऽवदीत् नानपादानां किमर्थ्यं ततः प्रभो, श्रीकान्यकुब्जभूपालयशोवर्मकुटुम्बिनी।
अहं सुतेऽत्र गर्भस्थे सपत्न्यां मत्सरोद्यात्, पुरा लब्ध्वरं प्रार्थ्य नृपान्निर्वासितास्म्यहम्।

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 73: एवंविधे कलानां च द्वासप्ततिमधीतवान्।

[3] *Ibid.*, V. 188: नागावलोक इत्याख्यां राजस्तत्र प्रभुर्ददौ।
ततः प्रभृत्यनेनापि नाम्ना विख्यातिमाप सः॥

[4] *PCA.*, XI, V. 168: परं मेऽस्त्यामराजेन दुर्ग्रहो विग्रहाग्रहः।
तदाह्वानाद् यदा पश्चात् याति तन्मे तिरस्कृतिः॥

[5] *Ibid.*, V. 719 & 721: विक्रमतो वर्षाणां शताष्टके सनवतौ च भाद्रपदे।
श्रीमान् नागावलोकाख्यो राजा प्राप दिवं तदा॥

[6] Jodhpur Stone inscription. *EI.*, IX, pp. 198–200.

identify King Āma Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa II.[1] But having considered this ground inadequate for the proposed identification, we are here trying to examine the whole matter. In this attempt we should go to review the history of the time in respect of Kanauj, of Bengal and of Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Gurjaras, which may throw light upon the point in issue.

We have already known the last limit of the reign of the King Yaśovarman of Kanauj from the *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* which is approximately 750-51 A.D. and which tallies well with the dates deduced from *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Chinese Annals* of Tang dynasty. After Yaśovarman the throne of Kanauj was occupied by his son and successor, Āma-Nāgāvaloka, for a long period from 752 A.D. to 833 A.D. according to the *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita*. But within long period scholars have placed a king named Indrarāja or Indrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj in Śaka year 705 of 783-84 A.D. on the basis of a passage[2] in the Jain *Harivaṅśa* and a reference made in the late Bhāgalpur grant of Narāyanapāla. Dr. R. S. Tripāthi, in his *History of Kanauj*, held the view that by the year 815 A.D. the throne of Kanauj was occupied by the Pratīhāra King Nāgabhata II on the strength of the Buckala inscription and the undated Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhoja.[3] Thus we see three or four kings on the throne of Kanauj in this long period according to the generally accepted views of historians, while the *Bappabhaṭṭi carita* assigns this long period of 752-833 A.D. to the one King Āma only.

Leaving apart this knotty problem of the Kanauj history for a while, we come to the history of Bengal of that period. It is generally accepted by historians that the first three kings of the Pāla dynasty, i.e. Gopal, Dharmapāla and Devapāla, ruled within the period from circa 750 to circa 870 A.D. This assigned period mostly concords with the reign of Āma. From the Jain sources we do not know any activities of these kings except those of Dharamapāla, who, it is said, had long cherished inveterate feelings of enmity to King Āma. This would mean that he made several aggressive attempts on Kanauj and was repulsed in his efforts. One of the most glorious achievements of Dharmapāla, according to the Pāla inscriptions, was the defeat of an Indrarāja of Kanauj,[4] and the installation of another ruler Cakrā-

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[1] *EI.*, XIV, p 179, fn. 3 ; See also *JDL.*, x, p. 46.

[2] *MDJG*, XXXIII, Pt. II, Canto. LXVI, V. 52 :

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु शतं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तराम् ।
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् etc.

[3] pp. 232–33.

[4] Bhagalpur copper plates of Nārāyaṇapāla, V. 3, Ed. in *IA.*, XV, pp. 305, 307. See also Khalimpur Copper plates of Dharmapāla, V. 12, *EI.*, IV, p. 252.

yudha by name upon the throne of Kanauj. We have other references to Indrarāja from the Baroda plates[1] of Karkarāja and from the Jain *Harivaṅśa* of Jinasena. The Baroda plates inform us that Indrarāja was a son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, whom he had left in-charge of Lāṭeśvara Maṇḍala. And according to the *Harivaṅśa* Indrāyudha was the ruler of the north in Śaka year 705 or 783-84 A.D. We, however, do not know the date of this Indrarāja from the inscription of the Pāla dynasty. The date provided by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription and by the *Harivaṅśa* of Jinasena may not be perhaps applicable in the case of Indrarāja of the Pāla inscription owing to the doubtfulness of the identity of Indrāyudha of the north and Indrarāja in charge of Lāṭeśvara Maṇḍala. In my opinion there is strong possibility of the identification of this Indrarāja with King Āma-Nāgāvaloka of Kanauj, the object of Dharmapāla's deep-rooted animosity.

Before going to propose the identification of Āma with Indrarāja we have to clear another confusion arising from the title 'Nāgāvaloka' which led certain scholars to identify Āma with Nāgabhaṭa II. For this, we have to refer to the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of our period. We know from the *Harivaṅśa* that in Śaka 705 or 783-4 A.D. King Vatsarāja was ruling in Avanti. He has been identified with the powerful Gurjara Pratihāra King Vatsarāja, father of Nāgabhaṭa II. The earliest known date of Nāgabhaṭa II is V.E. 872 or 815 A.D. (Buckala inscription),[2] but we have no evidence to fix the year of his accession. Whether Nāgabhaṭa II bore the title 'Nāgāvaloka' we have no direct reference. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandārkar is the first scholar to infer that Nāgāvaloka mentioned in the Pathāri pillar inscription dated V.E. 917 or 861 A.D. and in the Cāhamāna inscription of Vigraharāja dated V.E. 1030 or 973 A.D.[3] is identical with Nāgabhaṭa II. But these assumptions would have been justified if we could have equated without uncertainty, the title 'Nāgāvaloka' connected with Nāgabhaṭa II. On one hand there is no direct evidence that Nāgabhaṭa II actually bore that title, and, on the other, there is a definite statement that Āmarāja of Kanauj was known by the title 'Nāgāvaloka.' Therefore the title 'Nāgāvaloka' cannot be applied to Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II.

The next point in question is whether Nāgabhaṭa II occupied the throne of Kanauj in his life time or not. Dr. R. S. Tripāthi holds the view that the

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1 *IA.*, XII, pp. 159–163.

2 *EI.*, IX, pp. 198–200.

3 *EI.* II, pp. 122, 125: [illegible]

defeat of Cakrāyudha was evidently followed by the annexation of the kingdom and the transfer of the Pratīhāra capital to Kanauj.[1] But there is no reliable evidence in support of this view. The only evidence in favour of the theory that Nāgabhaṭa II transferred his capital to Kanauj is a statement in the *Prabhāvaka Carita* that Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grand-father of Bhoja, died in V.E. 890. This view is obviously based upon the presupposed and misunderstood identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa II. As a matter of fact, the only extant dated record of Nāgabhaṭa II is found in Buckala in the Jodhpur division and the locality is said to have formed a part of his kingdom proper (*Sva-Viṣaya*). Therefore the points of the death, the locality and the date of Nāgāvaloka should not be applied in the case of Nāgabhaṭa II.

Now from the above discussion it comes out that neither the identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa II on the conjectural basis nor the transference of the Pratīhāra capital from Avanti to Kanauj (for which we have no proof) conflicts with the period of the reign of king Āma Nāgāvaloka.

The only problem to be discussed then is that of Indrarāja on the throne of Kanauj. We know from the Bhāgalpur copper plates[2] that Dharmapāla defeated Indrarāja of Kanauj. As stated elsewhere this Indrarāja may be identified neither with Indrarāja of Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription of Barodā nor with Indrāyudha of the *Jain Harivaṅśa* of Jinasena. About the identification of Indrarāja with the latter certain scholars expressly put forth their views. Dr. R. C. Majumdar opines: "It has been generally assumed that this Indrarāja is identical with Indrāyudha mentioned in a passage of the Jain *Harivaṅśa*. But apart from the close resemblance in the two names, there is no other reason to establish this identity. For, there is absolutely no evidence to show that Indrāyudha ever ruled at Kanauj, the term "in the north" being not merely vague and undefinite, but hardly applicable to "Kanauj," when spoken with reference to Waḍhwān in Kāthiawār.[3] But he is inclined to identify Indrarāja of Pāla inscriptions with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrarāja of *Lāteśvara Maṇḍala*, brother of Govinda III. He says "on the other hand we know that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrarāja, brother of Govinda III was a contemporary of Dharmapāla. The Barodā plates of Karkarāja inform us that Dhruva had conquered the basin of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā and that Indra was appointed by his brother to rule over the *Lāteśvara Maṇḍala*,

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[1] History of Kanauj, p. 232–233.
[2] *IA.*, XV, pp. 305, 307, V. 3.
[3] *JDL.*, X, p. 37 fn.

which may mean the northern possessions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the province of Lāṭa as a centre. The probability, therefore, is that it was by defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Indrarāja that Dharmapāla regained Kānyakubja and bestowed it upon Cakrāyudha who was probably kept out of his possessions by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. In any case it seems to me that with the available data it is more reasonable to identify Indrarāja of the Bhāgalpur copper plates with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of the same name than with Indrāyudha mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*.[1] But expressing my difference of opinion on this point with the learned scholar, I may say that it is a forced assumption due to absence of any other alternative, and this alternative is furnished by the Jain work *Prabhāvaka Carita* in the shape of Āma-Nāgāvaloka, whose identification with Indrarāja of Bhāgalpur copper plates seems more likely. Before attempting to place any arguments over the proposed identification, I want to discuss here the difficulties in case of the identification with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrarāja. We know that Indrarāja was merely in-charge of the Lāṭa-maṇḍala and nothing farther north. It is generally assumed that, that province was reconquered by Govinda III and handed over to his brother Indra. But no record, contemporary or later, attributes the conquest of that province to him. The word 'Īśvara' in the expression '*Taddattalāṭeśvaramaṇḍalasya*' which occurs in the Baroda plates may well be due to metrical exigencies. It may be pointed out that the Baroda plates of Dhruva II use the expression '*Lāṭiyaṁ maṇḍalaṁ yastanaya iva nijasvāmi dattaṁ rarakṣa*'. The fact, that the donee in the Pimprī plates of Dhruva is a resident of Jambusāra, would also suggest that southern Gujarāta was included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom before the accession of Govinda III.[2] The question, however, of the appointment to rule northern possessions does not arise. Moreover, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records do not claim the conquest of Kanauj at this time. Though the Sanjan record refers to the resounding of the Himālayan caves by the noise made at the times of the bath of the army of Govind in the Gaṅgā, it is however possible that this may be merely a poetic exaggeration and the army of Govinda may not have marched much beyond the Gangā-Jamunā Doāb.[3] And since Kanauj was not conquered, the probability of defeating a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Indrarāja and from him capturing the Kānyakubja by Dharmapāla does not arise. On the other hand, we have another alternative to prove the validity of the Bhagalpur copper plates. This alterna-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[2] Altekar, A.D., *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 70, fn. 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 66 fn. 52.

tive in all probability we may have in identifying the Āma Nāgāvaloka with Indrarāja of the Pāla insciiption. Indıaıāja is most likely the second name of Āma. The popular or family names like Mihira, Sīluka, Jhoṭa etc., borne by the kings of that period lead us to this assumption.

The late Dr. V. A. Smith assumed in the fourth edition of the Early History of India, that the ruler of Kanauj whom Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir defeated and whose throne he is said to have carried in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[1] was probably Vajrāyudha, referred to as ruler of Kanauj by Rājaśekhara in his *Karpūra-mañjarī*.[2] And thereafter he infers in this connection that the form of names of Vajrāyudha of the *Kaıpūramañjaıī*, Indıāyudha of the *Haıivaṅśa* and Cakrā-yudha of the Pāla and Pratīhāra inscriptions may suggest that all the three monarchs belonged to the same line. Since the date of Vajrāyudha is not known; therefore, facing the difficulty in placing him anywhere, he put him before Indrāyudha. Thus he made out a sepaıate dynasty. But he has hardly any support other than the statements of Kashmir chronicle. It states an invasion made by Jayāpīḍa over Kanauj. If the *Bappa-Bhaṭṭi Caıita* is to be believed, it must have taken place in the reign of Āmarāja himself. Here we may assume that Vajrāyudha may have been another name of Āmarāja.

A question, however, may arise here as to why this *Bappa-Bhaṭṭi Carita* does not furnish any information regarding the historical incident that led to the dethronement of Indrarāja from the kingdom of Kanauj at the hands of Dharmapāla mentioned in the Pāla inscriptions. In reply it may safely be said that the work is primarily the life of Bappa-Bhaṭṭi-sūri and the other characters that figure in it do so only to the extent that they coordinate with the career of Bappa-Bhaṭṭi. If, therefore, we find none of the historical incidents mentioned in the Pāla inscriptions or in other inscriptions of the time referred to in it, it would be reasonable not to ascribe it to either the ignorance oı the perversity of the writer as they lay outside his particular spheıe of work.

It emerges, now, from the above discussion that it is more reasonable to regard Indrarāja as Āmarāja under reference whom Cakrāyudha sup-planted according to the Pāla inscription. Cakrāyudha must be regarded as a rival claimant to the throne whose claims received support from Dharma-pāla. The *Bappa-Bhaṭṭi Carita* may not be regarded as altogether silent on the matter. Dharmapāla says openly that it was a long cherished object of his life to defeat Āmarāja of Kanauj, only that he had not the good fortune

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1 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I., BK., IV, V. 471 (Stein Konow, p. 163)

2 III, p. pp. 74 and 266 (Stein Konow and Lanman's edition).

to give effect to his cherished aim successfully. If so the only inference that seems to be the possibility is that Dharmapāla defeated Āmarāja and displaced him just for a while by placing Cakrāyudha on the throne. Āmarāja, however, soon after turned out Carkrāyudha and occupied the throne again, all Dharmapāla's exertions being unable to place Cakrāyudha again on the throne of Kanauj. That probably is the question when both Dharma and Cakra voluntarily rendered submission to Govinda.

The *Bappa-Bhaṭṭi Carita* and the *Prabandhakośa* indicate that Āma held his court at Gopagiri (Gwalior),[1] but according to the *Prabhāvaka Carita* he, like his father Yaśovarman, reigned at Kanauj[2] and not altogether at Gopagiri. Whatever be the truth, the importance of the tradition probably lies in showing that the region of Gwalior formed part of the dominions of Kanauj at this time. He is also represented as going to the Jain holy places like Stambhatīrtha (Combay), Vimalgiri (Pālitānā), Raivatagiri (Girnar) and Prabhāsa (Paṭan), etc.[3]

From the narrative of the Bappa Bhaṭṭi we may safely conclude that the King Āma was a very religious man and was unable to revive the past glory of the kingdom of Kanauj. Though its glory had departed yet the position of Kanauj was so important that it continued to enjoy pre-eminence among the kingdoms of the North. It was, therefore, probably during the reign of Āma, that king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmira, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva and the Pāla king Dharmapāla unsuccessfully invaded the territories of Kanauj.

Āma was succeeded by his son Dunduka who according to the *Prabhāvaka Carita* was murdered by his son Bhoja.[4] After this event we have no information whatsoever regarding the descendants of Āmarāja. It seems that during the weak rule of Dunduka, Kanauj was occupied by the Pratīhāras.

III. ĀYUDHA FAMILY: A CONCOCTION

This dynasty is supposed to have consisted of three kings. The ground of the discovery of this dynasty is only the likeness in the name-ending of

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[1] *PK.*, (*SJGM*, VI), p. 28 ff : आमस्य पुर गोपालगिरिं प्राप।

[2] *PCA.*, XI, Vs. 116, 117 : श्रीमदाममहाभूप श्रेष्ठामात्योपरोधतः।
प्रयाणैः प्रवणैः प्राप कन्यकुब्जपुरं ततः॥

[3] *Ibid.*, XI, p. 109.

[4] *PCA.*, (*SJGM*, XIII), p. 110, V. 756: सद्दकंटिकयातत्रोपविष्टं प्रवरासने।
जघान हृदये घातैस्त्रिनिस्त्रैर्राजपूरकैः॥

Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha. Curiously enough, they are known from sources quite different from one another. As I have already discussed elsewhere the identity of Vajrāyudha,[1] this point need not be raised here again. As regards the two, the identification of their family is still a matter of controversy. We know about Cakrāyudha from Pāla as well as from the Gurjara Pratīhāra and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records but for Indrāyudha there is only one source and that is the following verse from the *Jain Hari-Vaṁśa* of Jinasena:

Śakeṣvabdaśatesu satpatsu diśaṁ Pañcottareṣūttarāṁ
Pātīndrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇaṁpaje Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇāṁ
Pūrvāṁ śrīmadavanti bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādi (dhi) rāje parāṁ
Sauryā (ra) ṇāmadhimaṇḍale (lam) Jayayute vīre varāhevati
Kalyāṇaiḥ parivardhamāna vipulaśrīvardhamāne pure[2]

The credit for bringing to light this passage goes to the late Dr. K. B. Pāthak. This verse, however, has been the subject of a considerable amount of discussion and even of differing interpretations. This simply states that Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṁśa* at Vardhamanapura in Śaka year 705 or 783 A.D., when Indrāyudha was ruling in the north, Śrīvallabha, the son of Kriṣṇanṛpa, in the south, Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti, in the east and Vīra Jayavarāha over the Sauramaṇḍala in the west.

In this verse the author who was a resident of Wadhwān in Gujarat wishes to define his position in place and time. The time datum is quite precisely the Śaka year 705. The place is defined equally precisely as in the province (Adhimaṇḍala) of Gujarata land of the Sūras of Sauryas. The work was completed in the region of the valiant king Jayavarāha; that disposes of the first and the last lines. The intervening two lines have reference to the political disposition of India at the time with reference to Wadhwān in Kāthiāwār.

Before attempting any identification of the rulers mentioned in the intervening two lines, I propose here to discuss the various interpretations given by eminent scholars. Dr. R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar thinks in his 'History of the Deccan' that the prince of Vatsa was the ruler in the west, whose capital must have been Kauśāmbī the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauḍa country. He must be the same as that vanquished by Nirupama, who having driven

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[1] See supra pp. 39–40.
[2] Canto LXVI, V. 52 and 53.

him into the impassable desert of Marwar, had carried away the two state umbrellas which he (Vatsarāja) had won from the Gauḍa king.[1] Following him his son Dr. D. R. Bhaṇḍārkar translates this verse as follows: "In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti, in the west king Vatsarāja (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and the brave Varāha." Later on, Mr. R. Chanda, Prof. R. D. Banerji and Stein Konow accepted this translation. Dr. V. A. Smith also accepted it, but he remarked 'that the translation has been the subject of dispute[2] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, the exponent of the above theory, argues "there is no reason for us whatever to imagine that the directions here indicated are with reference to Wadhwān or for equating Vatsādhirāja with the ruler of Avanti which seems to be contradicted by the statements in inscriptions and other records referable to his time and to the period immediately following. Whoever the Avanti ruler was, he certainly was not Vatsādhirāja or any one of his successors. It becomes thus obvious that the interpretations put upon the verse are forced, as the conclusions drawn therefrom lend to palpable historical absurdities. We have to take the meaning of the verse plainly. Indrāyudha was ruling in the north, Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛṣṇa in the south, a king of Avanti was the dominant ruler in the east and Vatsarāja was the most influential in the west. Beyond this the verse gives us no warrant to proceed."[3] Later on he states in the conclusion, that Jinasena perhaps has made two important omissions in the above verse. The first is that while mentioning Indrā yudha as the ruler of the North, he makes no mention of as to who the ruler of Kanauj at that time was. Kanauj having been the head-quarters of an imperial sovereign upto the date of the death of Yaśovarman, the omission of any mention is certainly very significant. Filling this omission then he identifies Indrāyudha with the king Āmarāja of Kanauj of the time. The second omission in his opinion is that there is no mention whatsoever of the ruler of Bengal while simply stating that the east was ruled by the king of Mālavā in the year Śaka 705 or 783 A.D. Then he assumed that the ruler of the east was Dharmapāla, a powerful ruler of Bengal, whose influence prevailed westwards; his name figures in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of the period among those against whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas intervened in the politics of the north[4]

But all these far-fetched assumptions based on the distortion of the

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[1] Bhaṇḍārkar, *Collected Works*, III, pp. 89–90.

[2] *JDL.*, X, p. 24.

[3] Aiyangar, S. K., *Ancient India* (1941), pp. 368–369.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

simple meaning of the verse, are hardly applicable to the above proposition when spoken with reference to Wadhwān in Kaṭhiāwār. On the face of it we should seek the appropriate identification suitable to the four directions from Wadhwān, the residence of the author.

Commenting on this verse Dr. Fleet observed that "the work was finished in Śaka Saṁvat 705 (expired)-(A.D. 783-84), when there were reigning in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with the modern Wadhwān in the Jhālāvāḍ division of Kāṭhiāwār: in the north Indrāyudha; in the east Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas.[1]

Dr. D. R. Bhaṇḍārkar, later on in view of the new light thrown by the Sanjan plates, changed his opinion and accepted the correctness of Dr. Fleet's translation.[2] Now the chief point to be noticed in Dr. Fleet's translation is that it gives the king's personal name in each case.

Let us then identify each of the kings of each direction. As regards Indrāyudha, it is generally assumed that he was king of Kanauj, but certain scholars doubt this identification. I have shown elsewhere[3] that Indrāyudha of the *Harivaṅśa* could not probably be the ruler of Kanauj. Moreover, the term 'in the north' is not merely vague and indefinite, but hardly applicable to Kanauj when taken with reference to Wadhwān in Kāthiāwār. In my opinion Indrāyudha must have been the ruler of some territory north from Wadhwān. We know a king entitled Indrarāja from the Baroda plates who was in charge of Lāteśvaramaṇḍala. Scholars generally assumed that Indrarāja of Baroda plates is almost identical with Indrarāja, ruler of Kanauj mentioned in the Bhāgalpur copper plates. But to me it does not seem plausible. I have, however, elsewhere expressed my opinion.[4] It appears more likely that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indrarāja of the Baroda plates and Indrāyudha of the *Harivaṅśa* are identical. The Baroda plates of Karkarāja inform us that Dhruva appointed his son Indrarāja to rule over the Lāteśvara-maṇḍala, which seems to mean the northern possessions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the province of Lāṭa as the centre. Now the question arises: Why does Jinasena not call him the ruler of Lāṭa-maṇḍala instead of calling him the ruler of the north? Lāṭa is certainly not in the north of Wadhwān. Is there any significance in mention-

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1 Fleet, *EI.*, VI, pp. 195–196; See also *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 644.
2 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 239.
3 See supra p. 37.
4 See supra p. 38.

ing Indrāyudha or Indrarāja as the king of the north? Is there any indication to assume that in the Śaka year 705 or 783-4 A.D. Rāṣṭrakūta Indrarāja was the ruler of the north? Is there any relation with the ruler of the south, mentioned by Jinasena as Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛṣṇanṛpa, who is certainly a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler? For all these queries we should go to the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa documents inform us that Dantidurga's uncle and successor Kṛṣṇa I had two sons namely Govinda II and Dhruva I. According to the statement of Jinasena, one who was called Śrīvallabha, was the ruler of the south in the Śaka year 705 or 783 A.D. The Paiṭhān plates of Govinda III mention Śrīvallabha, as an epithet of Govinda II and Kalivallabha as that of Dhruva. But Śravaṇabelgola Inscription No. 24, which is an almost contemporary document, describes the father of Stambha i.e. Dhruva, as Śrīvallabha. Another contemporary record from Māṭakari in Mysore district refers to Dhārāvarṣa Śrīvallabha as the overlord of Kambarasa, proving thereby that Dhruva was known both by the epithets of Śrīvallabha and Kalivallabha. Since Śrīvallabha was thus the epithet of both Govinda II and his immediate successor Dhruva, Śrīvallabha mentioned by Jinasena as ruling in 783 A.D. can be either Govinda or Dhruva. But since the latest known date of Govinda II is 779 A.D. from the Dhūlia plates, it may be reasonably assumed that Śrīvallabha, who is mentioned by Jinasena as ruling over the south in 783 A.D., may have been Dhruva rather than Govinda II[1]

At the time of his accession in c. 780 A.D. Dhruva was a mature man of about 50; for when the Dhūlia plates were issued in 779 A.D. his son was a grown up man invested with the *Pañcamahāśabdas* and taking an active part in administration. Dhruva had a number of sons. The names of four of them are known as Stambha Raṇāvaloka (Kambarasa in Canarese), Karka Suvarṇavarṣa, Govinda II and Indra. Stambha was a viceroy of Gaṅgawādī and Karka an administrator of Khānadeśa even before his father's accession. Govinda who was the ablest and worthiest among them was selected by Dhruva for succession and Indra was later on put in charge of Gujarāta province. Dhruva died some time between April, 793 A.D. and May, 794 A.D.[2]

Dhruva is regarded as the usurper of the throne of his elder brother who was a weak and vicious ruler. After his accession Dhruva must have

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[1] Altekar, Dr. A. S., *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 52–53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

spent some time in consolidating his position by compelling the rebel feudatories who were about to overflow his brother's yoke, to recognise his sovereignty. Then he proceeded to punish those who had sided with his brother in the war of succession.

Indrāyudha or Indra mentioned by Jinasena as the ruler of the north was really the son of Dhruva, whom he appointed as the administrator of Lāṭa-maṇḍala or the north speaking in term of Jinasena, after the conquest of the north. The real motive of the northern campaign of Dhruva seems to have been to teach a lesson to Vatsarāja, who had tried to espouse the cause of Govinda II.[1] This Vatsarāja is the same whom Jinasena mentions in the line third of his verse, as the king of Avanti in the east. (*Pūrvām śrīmadavantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje*). He has been accepted on all hands to be identical with the monarch of the same name mentioned in the Gurjara Pratihāra inscriptions as the predecessor of Nāgabhata II. From some time anterior to Jinasena, the city of Avanti or Ujjainī was regarded as the seat of power of Gurjara-Pratīhāras. The support for this view may be found in verse occurring in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, dated in the Śaka year 793 or 871 A.D. It states: "*Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ rājanyairujjayinyām yadāsitaṁ, Pratīhārīkṛtam yena Gurjareśādi rājakam,*" i.e., by whom kings such as the Gurjara lord and others were made door-keepers when in Ujjayinī, the (great gift called) Hiranyagarbha was completed by the Kṣatriyas.[2]

Vatsarāja was the powerful ruler of the Pratīhāra dynasty. His first known date from a Prākṛt Jain work *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri is the Śaka year 700 or 778-79 A.D. when he was regarded as the ruler of Jālor (Jābālipur) in Mārwar.[3] His second known date furnished by Jinasena of Wadhwān is the Śaka year 705 or 783-84 A.D. when he mentioned the ruler of the east at Avanti. These two dates furnished by the Jain teachers are very significant. Jālor is directly in the north from Wadhwān. From these two different dates related with different places it may safely be assumed that five years earlier than Jinasena's statement Vatsarāja had been the ruler of the north; while, in the time of Jinasena, he became the ruler of the

[1] See Bhor Museum copper plates, *EI.*, XXII, N. 28, V. 21.

[2] *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 243, 252, V. 9.

[3] *Jain Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka*, III, p. 180, V. 25–26 :

रागकाले वोलीणे वरिसाण सत्तहिं गएहिं,
एकदिणे णूणेहिं रइया अवरण्ह वेलाए।
परभडभिउडिभंगोपण ईयण रोहिणी कलाचंदो,
सिरिवच्छरायणामो णरहत्थी पत्थिवो जइया॥

east and the ruler of the north became Indrāyudha. The reasons of this change, it can be said, are not wanting.

It has been said above that Dhruva's real motive of the northern campaign was to teach the lesson to Vatsarāja who had tried to espouse the cause of Govinda II and, for this very reason, he attacked Vatsarāja and conquered his possession of the north and appointed his son Indra as the administrator. All these sudden changes of kingdoms within a short period of the time, say between 780-783, must have been fresh in the mind of Jinasena when he depicted the political conditions prevailing during his time in the four directions.

Now it may reasonably be concluded that Indrāyudha of the Jain *Harivaṅśa* is identical only with Indra Rāṣṭrakūṭa and not with Indrarāja, ruler of Kanauj, as mentioned in the Bhāgalpur copper plates of the Pāla dynasty.

In view of the foregoing discussion it is difficult to maintain the existence of the Āyudha dynasty of Kanauj, consisting of Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha. Really speaking, Cakrāyudha was the only king who can be safely located at Kānyakubja. The gap between Yaśovarman and the Pratīhāras has been filled in by Āma Nāgāvaloka of the Jain traditions, who distinguished himself in religious and cultural fields, but was politically weak, which led to the invasions of Madhyadeśa by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Pālas, the Pratīhāras and the kings of Kashmīr.

CHAPTER III

THE DYNASTIES OF MADHYADEŚA (continued)

I. THE GURJARA PRATĪHĀRAS

The Gurjara Pratīhāras played a very important part in ancient Indian History. The earliest reference to them found in the Jain sources is the famous Aihole inscription (A.D. 634) of Ravikīrti, a contemporary of Pulikeśin II, in which they are mentioned along with the Lāṭas and the Mālavās.[1] Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣa Carita* also refers to the Gurjaras whom Prabhākaravardhana kept in terror.[2] Apart from these, the various references to the Gurjaras in the records of the seventh century indicate that their dynasty must have been a powerful one. Certain place names like Gujrānwālā, Gujarat, Gūjarakhān in the Punjab and Gūjargar, the name of one of the northern districts of Madhyabhārat denote the early inhabitance of the tribe. The land between these — the territory corresponding to the northern and western Rajpūtānā—is referred to in some inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. as Gurjaratra[3] and must, therefore, be assumed as a settlement of the Gurjaras.

As regards their early settlement we have no definite information from the Jain sources but we can infer, from a reference made in the Jain Inscription of Ravikīrti from Aihole, wherein Gurjaras are mentioned along with the Lāṭas and the Mālavas, that they occupied a territory contiguous to these two provinces.[4] One Jain author, Udyotanasūri, by way of mentioning the date of completion of his work states that in Śaka year 700 or 778 A.D. the territory in which his residence Jāvālipur or Jālor (Marwar) was situated, had been ruled by a king Vatsarāja.[5] This Vatsarāja has been rightly accepted on all hands as a member of the Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty.[6] One more definite information is furnished by a Jain inscription from Ghaṭiyālā near Jodhpur in the N.W. directions, in which it is stated that in V.E.

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1 *EI.*, VI, p. 1: प्रतापोपनता यस्य लाट मालव गुर्जराः।

2 *Harṣa Carita*, p. 120 (N. S. Press) हूण हरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गूर्जरप्रजागरो गांधाराधिप गन्धद्विपकूटपाकलो, लाटपाटव पाटच्चरो मालवलक्ष्मी लता परशुः।

3 *JBBRAS.*, XXI, p. 414.

4 *EI.*, VI, p. 1.

5 *JSS.*, III, Pt. II, p. 180, Vs. 25–26; See supra p. 49.

6 *IA.*, XV, pp. 141–42; *BG.*, I, Pt. II, p. 197, ft. 2.

918 or 861 A.D., a chief Kakkuka, of Pratīhāra dynasty founded a Jain temple and made it over to a Jain community of Gaccha Dhaneśwara.[1] All these references from the early seventh to the ninth century show that the Pratihāras were already settled in the N.W. Rajasthana areas.

Origin: Who were these Gurjara-Pratīhāras? Regarding this question we have no particular information. Some scholars regard them as of foreign origin and argue that the personal names of the earlier rulers found in the Jain inscription from Ghaṭiyālā as well as in other inscriptions of this dynasty are outlandish. This much may be said on this point that there are no outlandish names. They are Prākṛt and Apabhraṅśa forms of Saṅskṛt terms.

These Gurjaras were divided among certain clans and one of them was called Pratīhāra.[2] It should be kept in mind in this connection that the term 'Gurjara' primarily bears a racial signification, rather than a geographical sense. For this we have the testimony of a south Indian Jain poet Pampa, who expressly calls Mahīpāla 'Gurjararāja'.[3] This epithet could hardly be applied to him, if the term Gurjararāja bore a geographical sense denoting what after all was only a small portion of Mahīpāla's vast territories. This fact is curiously confirmed by a Rājor inscription of Mathandeva dated V.E. 1016 or 959 A.D. wherein he is described as belonging to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra lineage, since the phrase "*Gurjara-Pratīhārānvayaḥ*" occurring in it must be interpreted to mean 'Pratīhāra clan of the Gurjaras'.[4]

The two Jain inscriptions along with the other inscriptions of this dynasty, however, suggest a different kind of origin. The Ghaṭiyālā inscription (in Prākṛt) of Kakkuka says:

"*Rahutilao Paḍihāro āsī sirī Lakkhaṇotti Rāmassa*
Tena Paḍihāravaṅso samunai attha sampatto."

'Sri Lakṣmaṇa, the ornament of Raghu dynasty, was the door-keeper (Pratīhāra) of Rāma. Through him this dynasty of Pratīhāras reached the growth.'[5]

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 513–21:

[2] Tripathi, Dr. R. S.: *History of Kanauj*, p. 221.

[3] See infra p. 62: The term may be interpreted in the light of the official statements of the family. Gurjara-Pratīhāra means 'Pratīhāra family from Gurjaratrā.'

[4] *EI.*, III, p. 266; See also *IA*, XL, p. 22.

[5] *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 513, ff. V. 2.

Cf. Jodhpur Ins. of Pratīhāra Bauk., *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 87 ff. V. 4:

स्वभ्राता रामभद्रस्य प्रातिहार्यं कृतं यतः
श्रीप्रतीहारवंशोऽयमतश्चोन्नतिमाप्नुयात् ॥

Another Jain inscription of Vātsarāja from Osiā in Jodhpur division says:

"Tasyākarṣat kila premṇā Lakṣmaṇaḥ Pratihāratām
Tatobhavāt Pratīhāra vaṁśo Rāma samudbhavaḥ."

'Lakṣmaṇa, a brother of Rāma, out of affection, performed the duty of door-keeper (Pratihāratām). So the Pratīhāra dynasty originated from him'.[1]

Thus in both the records the name Pratīhāra is derived from a memorable event in the life of Lakṣmaṇa. This shows that the clan is said to be descended from the same epic hero and thereby considered as a genuine indigenous one.

According to the available sources historians have divided this dynasty into two branches:—the one is the Jodhpur branch and the other is the Ujjain branch which later on shifted to Kanauj. Fortunately we have definite information about each of the branches.

Jodhpur Branch: For this branch of dynasty we have a Jain inscription of Kakkuka from Ghaṭiyālā, which is one of the five Ghatiyālā inscriptions published in *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 513 ff. This inscription fortunately bears the date V.E. 918 or 861 A.D. and treats of the same line of Pratīhāra chiefs which is eulogised in the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka, dated V.E. 894. But it has some additional value because it corrects and adds to the information which has been drawn from that inscription and also because by far the greater part of it nearly upto the end of line 20, is written in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt.

Its proper object is to record (in verse 22 and 23) that a chief named Kakkuka founded a Jain temple and made it over to a Jain community of Gaccha Dhaneśwara. But it tells us also in the verses (19-21) that the same chief on the day of Wednesday, the second lunar day of the bright half of Caitra of the year 918 (apparently the Vikrama era) while moon was in Nakṣatra Hasta, established a market at the village of Rohinīkūpa and erected two pillars, one at the same village and the other at Māḍdora. And by way of introduction it gives (in verses 3-6) the following genealogy of Kakkuka.

Brāhmaṇa Haricandra and his wife Bhadrā who was of the Kṣatriya caste had a son Rajjila. His son was Narabhaṭa; his son Nāgabhaṭa (Nāhad) his son Tāta; his son Yaśovardhan; his son Canduka; his son Sīlluka; his son Jhoṭa; his son Bhilluka; his son Kakka and his son from Durlabhādevī was Kakkuka.

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[1] *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 95–97 and pp. 107–110, V. 6.
Cf. Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoj, *Ibid.*, p. 99, V. 3.

With the exception of Durlabhādevi and her son Kakkuka all these persons were known to us already (some under slightly different names) from the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka. But the present inscription shows that Yaśovardhana was the son of Tāta, not as has been wrongly inferred from the Jodhpur inscription, of Tāta's younger brother Bhoja, who is here omitted; and that the son of Śīlluka (Śīluka or Śīlūka) was Jhoṭa, not Jhaṭovara. According to the Jodhpur inscription Kakka had another son named Bauka from the Mahārājñi Padminī. He, of course, must have been a brother of Kakkuka, who in the present inscription is described as the son of Kakka and Durlabhādevi. As the date of the Jodhpur inscription is read V.E. 894 by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, it appears that Kakkuka, whose present inscription contains a date of the year 918, would have been the step-brother and successor of Bauka.[1]

Thus the above inscription furnishes us with a line of kings extending over twelve generations. Dr. Majumdar suggests that if 25 years be given as an average for each generation, the total reign-period of the dynasty would be about 300 years. As the known date of Kakkuka is V.E. 918 or 861 A.D. and that of his step-brother Bauka. Saṁvat 894 or 837 A.D. the founder of the dynasty, Haricandra, may be placed at 550 A.D.[2]

It may, of course, be argued, in the absence of pompous and high sounding titles in the inscription, of this line of rulers, that they were only small feudatory chiefs, but the light thrown by the other inscription of this dynasty, i.e., Jodhpur inscription of Bauka, dated 840 A.D., proves otherwise.[3]

This inscription eulogises Kakkuka much, but does not furnish any details regarding his predecessors. It does not also inform us the name of his step-brother Bauka. It, besides referring to his great power in general, makes specific reference to the provinces of Marumaḍa, Strāvaṇi, Valla, and also Gurjaratrā as forming part of his dominions. Though we know from the Daulatapurā plates that in 843 A.D. Gurjaratrā was under the possessions of Bhoja (I) a king of another line of Pratihāras, the inscriptions of Kakkuka show that Bhoja had lost it again and even as late as 861 A.D. the disputed territory was in the possession of the Pratīhāra family of Jodhpur.[4]

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[1] *JDL.*, X, pp. 6–7.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 7–8
[3] *EI.*, XVIII, p. 87 ff.
[4] *JDL.*, X, p. 48.

The Pratīhāras of Avanti: As a matter of fact, this dynasty was closely allied to the ruling dynasty of Jodhpur for both possessed the common tradition of being descended from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Rāma; both traced the common name Pratīhāra to the fact that the hero once served as a door-keeper to his elder brother Rāma.

Certain Jain sources, however, throw some light on this branch also.

As to when the Pratīhāras came to Avanti is not known directly from the Jain sources, but we can infer from the Aihole inscription of the Jain poet Ravikīrti that they had their own entity along with the Lāṭas and the Mālavas (Lāta Mālava Gurjaraḥ). Probably by seeking an alliance with, or protection from the Cālukya Pulikeśin II, they retained their independence. The separate mention of the Mālava in this reference, however, denotes that Mālava was not occupied by the Pratīhāras at the time of the poet Ravikīrti (634 A.D.).

The Arab historians inform us that during the first two quarters of the 8th century the invasion of the Arabs was checked in the east by a new power near Ujjain. Scholars have suggested that this new power was no other than that of the Pratīhāra kings of Avanti. This indicates that the Pratīhāras had occupied Mālava and established their sway in the beginning of the second quarter of the 8th century A.D.[1]

The fact that the Gurjara Pratīhāras were settled in Mālava, is also supported by a remarkable passage occurring in the colophon of the *Harivaṅśa* of Jinasena, (*Pūrvām Śrīmadavanti bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje*).

It is stated here that at the time of completion of its composition, that is, in the Śaka year 705 or 783 A.D., at Wardhamānapur, modern Wadhwān in the Jhālāvāḍ division of Kāthiāwār, there were ruling four kings in the four directions, among them in the east was Vatsarāja, the ruler of Avanti. This Vatsarāja has been identified with the monarch of the same name belonging to the Gurjara Pratīhāra family. The verse number nine of the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, dated in the Śaka year 793 or 871 A.D., points to a Gurjara Pratīhāra kingdom at Ujjain.[2] Thus it may easily be surmised that Ujjain or Avanti became the citadel of this dynasty during this period.

As regards the geneology of this line of the Pratīhāras we have no records in the Jain sources but we have certain stray references which may be regarded as an important contribution to Indian history.

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1 Elliot, *History of India*, pp. 126, 442; See also *JDL.*, X. p. 21.

2 See supra, p. 49.

Vatsarāja: Regarding Vatsarāja there are two more references besides the *Harivaṅśa*. The one is from *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri which states that he composed his work in Jābālipur (modern Jāllor in Marwar) one day before the end of Śaka year 700 or 778 A.D. At that time Vatsarāja was the ruler. The stanza runs thus:

Parabhaḍabhiuḍibhaṅgo, Paṇaiyaṇa rohiṇikalācando
Siri Vaccharāya ṇāmo naraṅatthī patthivojaiā.

i.e. Adoration to the valorous king Vatsarāja who is frown to the enemies and is lovely to the lovers as moon is for his consort Rohiṇī.[1]

The other one is the Osiā inscription, dated V.E. 1013 or 956-7 A.D., which is engraved in the Porch of a Jain temple and indicates its existence in the time of Vatsarāja. The inscription consists of 28 lines, but is much mutilated. It begins by invoking the blessings of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanāth, the son of Nābhi and of the last Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra, the son of Siddhārtha. Then it is stated that Rāma, the destroyer of Rāvaṇa, had a brother named Lakṣmaṇa who did the duties of his door-keeper (Pratihāra) and hence arose from the latter the Pratīhāra dynasty. In this dynasty there was a king named Vatsarāja. In his kingdom was situated the extensive city of Ukeśa i.e. Osiā and in the heart of this city stood the temple of Mahāvīra. So far the contents of the inscription are clear, but from the remaining mutilated portion we can glean only two things as certain. The first is that this maṇḍapa, in which the inscription is found, had fallen into disrepair and on the request of the temple committee (Goṣṭhi) a merchant called Jindaka renovated it. Secondly, the date of this renovation is the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1013. The temple thus existed during the reign of Vatsarāja who belonged to the Pratīhāra dynasty and its Maṇḍapa was rebuilt in V.E. 1013 (A.D. 956).[2]

These two references along with the reference found in the *Harivaṅśa* show that Vatsarāja was ruling over an extensive kingdom though he was called the ruler of Avanti (*Avantibhūbhṛt*).

Regarding Vatsarāja one more point emerges here. From the *Harivaṅśa* it appears that while the king Vatsarāja was the ruler at Avanti, the territory north of Wadhwān was ruled by a king named Indrāyudha in Śaka year 705 or 783 A.D. And five years prior to this date in Śaka year

[1] *JSS.*, III, Pt. II, p. 181, V. 21.
[2] *ASI.*, Ann. Re., 1908–9, p. 108
The text is published in *Jain Lekha Saṅgarah*, Pt. I. (P.C. Nahar), pp. 192–194.

700 or 778 A.D., we are informed that the territory in which Jāvālipur, residence of the author of *Kuvalayamālā,* was situated, was ruled by Vatsarāja, which is evidently north of Wadhwān. The reasons for this sudden change within five years (778-783 A.D.) are known to us from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.

The verse number twenty-one of the Bhore State museum copper plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvarāja, dated Śaka year 702 or 780 A.D., informs us that Dhruva subdued all those rebels who opposed him in the capture of power from his elder brother. Among these rebels one was the king of Mālavā (Mālaveśa).[1] The then king of Mālavā country was Vatsarāja a fact which is supported by the Radhanpur plates and the Wani grants of Govinda III.[2] These records expressly bear testimony to the struggle of Dhruva with Vatsarāja.

The Baroda plates of Karkarāja also confirm that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king had actually proceeded so far and appointed his son Indrarāja administrator of the northern possessions with Head Quarters at Lāṭa (Lāṭeśwaramaṇḍala).[3]

I have suggested elsewhere the possibility of identifying Indrarāja with Indrāyudha mentioned in the *Harivaṅsa.*[4] If so the occupation of the territory north of Wadhwan by Indrāyudha, son of Dhruva, must have taken place between Śaka year 702 or 780 A.D. and 705 or 783 A.D. Thus the above two Jain references in collaboration with the above facts, yield this important information.

The fact that Vatsarāja was a powerful ruler is supported by those emphatical adjectives — *Śrīmad, Bhūbhṛt, Nṛpa,* and *Adhirāja* (paramount sovereign), given in the passage of the *Harivanśa* and *Parabhaḍabhauḍibhaṅgo,* and *Narahatthī,* the virudas given to Vatsarāja in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri; and all these are mostly corroborated with what is spoken about him in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.[5]

NĀGABHAṬA II: As to who was the son and successor of Vatsarāja is not known to us from the Jain sources, but from the lists of the kings given in the inscriptions of the dynasty, it is sure that he was Nāgabhaṭa II. About this king some scholars assume that he bore the title Nāgāvaloka and as such

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[1] *EI.*, XXII, N. 28, V. 21: श्रीकांचीपतिगांगवेंगिक्युता ये मालवेशादयः,
प्राज्यानानयतिस्म तान् क्षितिभृतो यः प्रातिराज्यानपि।

[2] *EI.*, VI, p. 248.

[3] See supra p. 46.

[4] See supra p. 38.

[5] *EI.*, XVIII, p. 99 ff. Vs. 6, 7.

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he is identical with the king Āma Nāgāvaloka of Kanauj mentioned in the *Prabhāvaka Carita*, and henceforth, Kanauj continued to be the capital of the dynasty. I have refuted this very assumption elsewhere[1] and I have to say here that there is no evidence to support that Nāgabhaṭa II really transferred his capital to Kanauj. If any transfer of the capital was effected, it must have been done by the time of later Pratīhāras when the dynasty of Yaśovarman at Kanauj was totally extinguished about the year 836 A.D.

BHOJA I: The successors of Nāgabhata II are known as generally ruling in Kānyakubja. The frequent attacks from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and other powers from west compelled the Pratīhāras to transfer their capital from Ujjaini to Kanauj. Nāgabhaṭa's grand-son Bhoja (I) is regarded as ruling from Kanauj.[2] We have fortunately one Jain inscription from Deogarh which furnishes us one of the earliest dates of the period of reign of Bhojadeva of Kanauj. This inscription has been discovered, engraved, on a pillar belonging to a Jain temple in the village Deogarh in the Lalitpur sub-division of the district Jhānsī (U.P.). The pillar which contained ten lines of writing was caused to be made (or set up) near the temple of the holy (Jain Arhat) Śāntināth by Deva, a disciple of the Ācārya Kamaladeva, and it was completed in V.E. 919 (A.D. 862), in the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśwara*, the glorious Bhojadeva, while Luacchāgira was governed by the Mahāsāmanta or great feudatory Viṣṇurām to whom the five Mahāśabdas had been granted by Bhojadeva. The pillar was made by the Goṣṭhika Vajuāgagāk. The last line gives us both in words and figures the year of the Śaka era 784.[3]

This inscription indicates the full sovereignty of Bhoja and the feudal system of his reign. That Bhoja was a most powerful king of the dynasty is shown by this inscription referring to his befitting titles.

MAHĪPĀLA: Among the later Pratīhāras we have reference to two kings in the Jain sources: one is Mahīpāla and the other is Vināyakapāla. A Kanarese Jain poet Pampa in his work, *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* or *Pampa-Bhārata*, writing about Mahīpāla, states: "Plucked from the Ghurjararāja's arms the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunder-

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[1] See supra pp. 35, 36.

[2] Barah copper plate inscription dated in V. E. 893 (A.D. 836). *EI.*, XIX, pp. 15-19.

[3] *EI.*, IV, pp. 309-310; परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री भोजदेव महीप्रवर्धमान कल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्प्रदत्तपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्त श्री विष्णुराम परिभुज्यमाने लुअच्छगिरे श्रीशान्त्यायतन संनिधे श्री देवाचार्यशिष्येन श्रीदेवेन कारयितं इदं स्तम्भम्।

bolts, staying neither to eat, nor to rest, nor pick himself up; while Narasiṁha pursuing bathed his horses at the junction of the Gaṅgā."[1] The above reference is made in connection with an expedition against Kanauj carried on by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, probably having been accompanied by his feudatory chief Narasiṁha Cālukya. As the year of Indra III's coronation is specified 915 A.D. in the Nausāri grant[2] and his successor is known from the Daṇḍapur (Dhārwad district) inscription to have been ruling in 918,[3] we may infer that this struggle referred to above must have taken place sometime between the years 916 and 917 A.D. Besides this, we know from the Asni inscription that Mahīpāla was ruling in V.E. 974 or 917 A.D. From the *Bālabhārata* of the celebrated poet Rājaśekhara, it appears that Mahīpāla must have been a strong ruler among the later Pratīhāras.[4]

Vināyakapāla was the other name of Mahīpāla: The name of Vināyakapāla occurs in the colophon of the *Bṛhat Kathākośa* of the Jain poet Hariṣeṇa. He states that "in the prosperous reign of 'Vinayādikapala' he wrote this *Kośa* in Vikrama Era 989 or Śaka 853, the year being Khara which is twenty-fourth in enumeration."[5] The poet Hariṣena was living near about Wadhwān and his calculation is according to the northern cycle. It appears that the book was finished sometime between fifteenth October 931 and thirteenth March, 932 A.D.

Who was this king and whom did he succeed? There are several inscriptions which give his dates. According to the plates of the Bengal Asiatic Society he was ruling in 931 A.D.[6] The Rākhetra stone inscription discovered in the village of that name near Canderi in Gwalior says that Vināyakapāla constructed certain water-works at an immense cost in the year V.E. 999-1000 or 942-43 A.D.[7] In an inscription from Partāpgarh in southern Rājasthāna, dated

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1 Ed. Lewis Rice (Bangalore, 1898), pp. 3, 4; *Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 26; *JRAS.*, N.S. XIV, (1882) p. 20,

2 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 415.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 417.

4 See I, 7. Carl Cappeller's edition (1885), p. 2.

5 Vs. 11-13 of Colophon (*SJGM.*): नवाष्टनवकेष्वेषु स्थानेषु त्रिषु जायतः,
विक्रमादित्यकालस्य परिणाममिदं स्फुटम्।
शतेष्वष्टकेषु विस्पष्टं पञ्चशत्यधिकेषु च,
शककालस्य सत्यस्य परिणाममिदं भवेत्।
संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे वर्तमाने खराधिपे,
विनयादिकपालस्य राज्ये शक्रोपमानके।

6 *IA.*, XV, p. 140.

7 Ann. Re. *ASI.*, 1924-25,

1003 or 946 A.D., he is described as the father of Mahendrapāla (II).[1] It appears, therefore, that the name of the contemporary king mentioned in a peculiar way by Hariṣeṇa would be Vināyakapāla. Explaining the reading '*Vinayādikapālasya*' of the text, Dr. A. N. Upādhye, the learned editor of the *Bṛhat Kathākośa*, stated that "the text would give the name Vinayapāla or Vinayakapāla while the king's name is Vinayakapāla. The author seems to have been in the habit of using *K*-suffix, but, in all probability, the original reading might have been *Vināyādikapālasya* (apparently meaningless, if one is not aware of the name of the king) which gives the name Vināyakapāla. He further assumes that it is quite likely that Vināyādi was easily corrected into Vinayādi by some copyist, who could not make out any thing from Vināyādi and who thought that his was a meaningful improvement of Vināya into Vinaya."[2]

I may, however, humbly suggest here that the reading should be corrected as *Vināyakādipālasya* instead of the correction *Vināyādikapālasya*, which is certainly more meaningful in the light of the History of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. Dr. Kielhorn and Prof. D. R. Bhaṇḍārkar and following them the other scholars held the view that Vināyakapāla, Herambapala and Kṣitipāla are the various names of the one Mahīpāla, son of Mahendrapāla and the successor of Bhoja (II).[3] In this context if we interpret the reading as Vināyakādipālasya, it certainly denotes that a pāla having such names as Vināyaka-Ādi=Vināyaka etc., naturally comes out as Mahīpāla.

The king referred to by Hariṣeṇa was certainly a suzerain king and not any local chief and this is implied by the adjective 'Śakropamānake'.

Leaving this controversy aside, we can conclude this much from the above reference that the Vardhamānapura in the Jālāvād division of Kathiawar was included in the Pratīhāra empire in A.D. 931. Before this there are the Haḍḍalā copper plates dated Śaka 836 of the *Cāpa-mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇī-Varāha*, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva, issued from Vardhamān. Pratīhāra empire was a big one, extending from Kāthiāwār to the borders of Bihar and the "Government was more or less feudal in nature and its rapid dissolution was due to the centrifugal tendency which is still observable among the Rājputs."

MAHENDRAPĀLA II: Mahīpāla had two sons Mahendrapāla II and

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[1] *EI.*, XIV, pp. 176–186.

[2] Bṛhat Kathākośa, Introduction, p. 122. (*SJGM.*, XVII).

[3] See for full discussion — *JDL.*, X, pp. 59–62; H. C. Ray, *DHNI.*, Pt. I., No. 572–576; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 258–59.

Devapāla. He was succeeded by Mahendrapāla II whose short reign could be placed between 940 and 948 A.D. The celebrated author Somadeva was his contemporary. He refers to him by name in the opening and concluding verses of the first chapter of his monumental work *Yaśastilaka Campu*[1] and at his instance composed the *Nītivākyāmṛta* as is declared in some anonymous commentary[2]. It is said that before this he had composed a work named *Trivarga-Mahendra—Mālatīsañjalpa*, dealing with *Dharma Artha* and *Kāma* perhaps in the form of dialogue between king Mahendra and charioteer Mālati.[3] Nothing more is known about this king from the Jain sources in the present state of our knowledge.

DEVAPĀLA: Mahendrapāla II was succeeded by Devapāla in c. 948 A.D. About Devapāla we infer from an unpublished, damaged and fragmentary inscription in a small Jain temple at Ahār near Udaipur that he was killed by the Guhilota Allaṭa in a fight. Nothing further is known about him from the Jain sources.[4]

RĀJYAPĀLA: In the third generation of Mahīpāla alias Vināyakapāla, appears, among several successors, one Rājyapāla. A Jain inscription from Dubkuṇḍa, dated V.E. 1145 (A.D. 1088) of the reign of the Kacchapaghāṭa Vikramasiṁha, refers to one Rājyapāla. We learn from it that Vikramasiṁha's grand-father Arjuna, "being anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādharadeva, had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbone."[5] The event is probably referred to in the Mahobā inscription which represents Vidyādhara as having "caused the destruction of the king of Kanauj."[6] These two statements when jointly defined, tell us undoubtedly that this Rājyapāla was the Gurjara Pratīhāra, king of Kanauj, whose name has been spelt by Arab historians as Rājaybāl. Thus Rajyapāla was a contemporary of the Candella Vidyādhara and the Kacchapaghāṭa Arjuna. The date of his accession given by the historians is 1018 A.D.[7]

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[1] Kāvyamāla (N.S.P.) No. 70, 1901.

[2] Rāghavan, *NIA.*, vi, pp. 67-9.

[3] Pt. Premi, *Jain Sahitya aur Itihasa*, 2nd ed., p. 178.

[4] See infra p. 219. Chapter on the Guhilotas.

[5] *EI.*, II, pp. 233-237. line 12.; See infra on the Kacchapaghatas:—

विद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्।
कण्ठास्यच्छिदनेकवाणनिवहैर्हत्वा महत्याहवे॥

[6] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 219, 222, V. 22: विहितकान्यकुब्जभूपालभङ्गम्।

[7] *DNNI.*, Pt. I, p. 598.

After Rājyapāla, we do not know of his successor from the Jain sources.

Thus the following kings of the dynasty are known from the Jain sources.

II. THE GĀHAḌAVĀLAS

After Rājyapāla as we know from other sources, the Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty could not survive long. The vast territory over which they ruled was naturally captured by the new rising powers in all directions. Soon after the disappearance of the Pratīhāras, we hear from available Jain sources that the Haihayas of Dāhala ruled for some time over Kanauj empire.[1] But the territory ruled over by them was captured very soon by a suddenly emerged dynasty of the Gāhaḍavālas. The Jain sources throw some light on the following five rulers of the dynasty. They are

[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 20: भोजगांगेययोः प्रबन्धः—एकदा वाराणसीपति श्रीगांगेयकुमारः ......etc.

Candradeva, his grandson Govindacandra, his son Vijayacandra, his son Jayacandra and his son Hariścandra.

Origin: The origin of the Gāhaḍavālas is one of the most controversial topics in Indian history and the dynasty is tossed between the aboriginal Bharas on the one side and the Lunar race on the other.[1] So far as the Jain sources are concerned they regard the Gāhadavālas as belonging to the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. In the *Purātana Prabandha Saṅgraha* Jaitra-Candra (Jayacandra), the son of Vijayacandra, is mentioned as Rāṣṭrakūṭīya.[2]

Candradeva: As regards the individual kings of the dynasty, the first in the list is Candradeva whose reign is generally assigned to the period between c. 1040 and 1100 A.D. He seems to be the contemporary of the king Bhoja of Dhārā (c. 1010-1056 A.D.). In one place the *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* states that when Bhoja went out for conquests "the king of Kānyakubja is here bent double."[3] We can safely infer from this statement that the contemporary king of the then ruling dynasty may be Candradeva It is important to note here that Bhoja's name occurs in the Barahī plates[4] of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty and this would not have much significance if he had not made some incursions in the north and for a time established his supremacy over Kanauj.

His son and successor Madanacandra known from sources other than the Jain is omitted in the texts under consideration.

Govindacandra: Madanacandra's son and successor, Govindacandra, figures more prominently in the *Prabandha Kośa*. "In the eastern city of Vārāṇasī there was a king by name Govindacandra. He was the enjoyer of scent consisting of the pleasure of youth in the inner apartment peopled by seven hundred and fifty (damsels)."[5] Here his romantic side only is emphasised and his military and political achievements known from the other sources are passed over. But it tries to compensate when it narrates the concluding act of Govindacandra's life in the following words:

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[1] Tripathi, Dr. R. S.: *History of Kanauj*, 198–99.

[2] *SJGM.*, II, p. 88: तत्र श्री विजयचन्द्रांगजो राष्ट्रकूटीयो जैत्रचन्द्रो राज्यं करोति।

[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 31: चेदिर्लैलीयतेऽस्त्रैः क्षितिपतिसुभटः कन्यकुब्जोऽत्रकुब्जो भोज त्वत्तन्त्रमात्रप्रसरभयभरव्याकुलो राजलोकः।

[4] *IA.*, XIV, p. 105, line 3.

[5] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 54: पूर्वस्यां वाराणस्यां पुरिगोविन्दचन्द्रो नाम राजा। ७५० [अन्तः] पुरी यौवनरसपरिमलग्राही।

"After having given his kingdom to him (Jayacandra?=Vijayacandra) and having followed the description of Yoga obtained the highest state of existence."[1]

From some other sources it appears that Govindacandra waged several wars with his contemporaries. A Jain work *Rambhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra refers to the fact that he achieved a victory against Daśārṇa on the day of his grandson Jayacandra's birth.[2] Govindacandra perhaps maintained diplomatic relations with other kings. According to the *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* Siddharāja Jayasiṁha sent a messenger to the lord of Kāśi. Govindacandra, (c. 1112-1155 A.D.) most probably, was the contemporary of the Gujarat ruler Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, and thus the ruler of Kāśi, at this time when Siddharāja sent his messenger, must have been Govinda candra and not his grandson, Jayacandra (c. 1170-94 A.D.). The latter is anachronistically recorded in the *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*.[3] The two colophons of the MSS obtained from the Jain Bhaṇḍāras give the two dates. The colophon of the *Vāsavadattā* mentions V.E. 1207 when the book was copied in Rudrapallī in the prosperous reign of Rājāśrī Govindacandradeva.[4] The colophon of the *Kàtantra Vyākarana* mentions V.E. 1207 when the book was copied by Vijayānanda at Purarāhupura in the prosperous reign of Śrīmad Govindacandra, while his son Śrīmad Vijayacandra was ruling the province of Vaḍahara (near Vārāṇasī) on the south bank of the Gaṅgā.[5]

Vijayacandra: Govindacandra's son was Vijayacandra[6] who was also sometimes called, according to the *Rambhāmañjarī*, Malladeva.[7] We have seen from a colophon that he was sharing in his father's administration as a governor of a province. In the *Prábandha Kośa*, Govindacandra's son is called Jayantacandra, which is apparently wrong. Jayanta or Jaitra were the other names of Jayacandra, the grandson of Govindacandra.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 54. तस्मै राज्यं दत्त्वा योगं प्रपद्य परलोकमसाधयत्।

[2] Bom. Ed. (1899), p. 4: पितामहेन तज्जन्मदिने दशार्णदेशेषु प्राप्तं प्रबलं यवनसैन्यं जितं अतएव तन्नाम जयचन्द्रः।

[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 74: कदाचित् सिद्धराजस्य वार्त्ताकश्चित्...........पृच्छतेति दूषणमुक्तम्।

[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 106, N. 62.

[5] *Ibid.*, N. 63: दिनकर शतमिति संख्ये अष्टाधिकाब्दयुक्ते श्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवराज्ये जाह्नव्या दक्षिणकूले श्रीमद्विजयचन्द्रदेव वडहरदेशमुज्यमाने......।

[6] Recently a copper plate of this King dated 1166 A.D. has been discovered from village Sonhal near Sasaram (Bihar) and is kept in the Patna Museum.

[7] Bom. Ed. (1899), p. 4.

Vijayacandra does not appear as powerful a ruler as his father. According to *Prākṛta Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya* of Hemacandra, Caulukya Kumārapāla, in the course of his glorious career, devastated Kānyakubja and terrified its sovereign.[1] The reign of Kumārapāla is generally assigned to the period from c. 1144 to 1172 A.D., and if there be any truth in the above statement, the event must have occurred during the period of Vijayacandra. Kumārapāla's earlier contemporary Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra was so powerful that this occurrence concerning him is well nigh impossible.

Jayacandra: Vijayacandra was succeeded by his son Jayacandra whose mother according to the *Rambhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra was queen Candralekhā.[2] According to the Canda Bardāi, Jayacandra was born of Anangapāl's eldest daughter Sundarī Devī.[3] Rājaśekharasūri[4] and Nayacandra record his name as Jayantacandra and Jaitracandra respectively. Merutuṅga[5] calls him Jayacandra. In the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha*[6] Jayacandra and Jaitracandra both names occur.

It is alleged that Jayacandra was given this name on account of his grandfather having achieved a victory over the Daśārna country on the very day of his birth.[7] According to Merutunga and Nayacandra, Jayacandra bore the epithet of 'Paṅgu' or 'Dala Paṅgula' from the circumstances that he maintained stupendous forces.[8] Canda Bardāi states that his army was so vast that in the march "the van had reached its ground ere the rear had moved off."[9]

Jayacandra is credited with so many victories over his contemporary powers until he was completely defeated by Sihābuddin of Ghor. He had

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[1] Canto VI, V. 79, p. 209, Ed. S. P. Pandit (Bombay, 1900):

लुक्किअजसमुल्लूरिअ पयावमुल्लुकिअ मेइणिं काही।
घोलन्ति तुहसेणा भयघुलिअं कन्नउज्जेसं॥

[2] p. 4. चन्द्रलेखायाः तनुजन्मा जैत्रचन्द्रो।

[3] Rāso. Vs. 881–82, p. 134 (Syam Sundardas edition).

[4] *Prabandha kośa* (*SJGM.*, VI), p. 54: तत्पुत्रो जयन्तचन्द्रः (हर्षकविप्रबन्धः)

[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 113: अथ कासिनगर्यां जयचन्द्र इति नृपः।

[6] *SJGM.*, II, pp. 88, 89, 90: जयचन्द्रप्रबन्धः।

[7] *Rambhāmañjarī*, Act I, p. 4: पितामहेन तज्जन्मदिने दशार्णदेशेषु प्राप्तं प्रबलं यवन-सैन्यं जितं अत एव तन्नाम जैत्रचन्द्रः।

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 113: पंगुरिति विरुदं बभार। यतो यमुनागंगायष्टियुगावलंबनमन्तरेण चमूसमूहव्याकुलिततया क्वापि गन्तुं न प्रभवति। *Rambhāmañjarī*, I, p. 6. सैन्यातिशयात् पंगुविरुदधारकः।

[9] Tod's, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan*, II, p. 936.

a great diplomatic minister named Vidyādhara.[1] With his help he attacked the Gauḍa king Lakṣmaṇasena[2] and the Candella king Paramardi.[3] The *Rambhā-mañjarī* affirms that Jayacandra's arms were like pillars to tie down the elephant-like goddess of Madanavarman's royal fortune,[4] which proves that he attacked the Candella king, the predecessor of Paramardi some time as a prince. But from the context of the *prabandhas* it appears that all the attacks were changed in treaties and did not create any bitterness. Nayacandra states in his work *Rambhā-mañjarī,* that Jayacandra had destroyed the Yavanas.[5] This view receives full support by the *Puruṣa-parīkṣā* of Vidyāpati.[6] According to the prabandha literature one of the inveterate enemies of Jayacandra was Cauhān king Prithvīrāja, on whose death he felt great joy.[7] The cause of enmity is not mentioned in the prabandha literature. The friction between Jayacandra and Prithvīrāja has been generally regarded as the chief cause which led Sihābuddin Ghori's invasion of India resulting in the fall of both. The following tradition in the *prabandhas* accounts for Sihābuddin's invasion of Gāhaḍavāla empire: "A concubine of Jayacandra named Sūhavādevī, having got refusal from the king of her son's claim for the throne and hence being desirous of killing her husband, summoned the Mlecchas."[8] According to the *Purātana Prabandha saṅgraha.* Suratrāṇa Sahābdīn (Sihābuddin), having conquered Prithvīrāja, was staying in Yoganīpur (Delhi), when Sūhavādevī, the concubine of Jayacandra sent message to him to come there when she asked for.[9] After two years she called him. In the first attack Suratrāṇa (Sihābuddin) was defeated. With the advice of his wife he appointed certain Mahammada, son of Ahammada, as his general and won the battle. "In the 10th of the bright fortnight of the month Caitra in V.E. 1248, Suratrāṇa captured

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 88: जयचन्द्रप्रबन्धः ।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[4] Act I, pp. 5–6: अभिनवरामावतारः श्रीमान् मदनवर्ममेदिनीदयितराज्यलक्ष्मीकरेणुकाला- नस्तम्भायमानबाहुदण्डस्य ।

[5] Act I, p. 5: निखिलयवनक्षयकरः ।

[6] Eng. Tran. Nerulkar's Edition, Chap. IV, pp. 146–47.

[7] *SJGM.*, II, p. 89: इतः पृथ्वीराजे दिवंगते श्रीजयचन्द्रेण वर्धापनकान्यारब्धानि ।

[8] *PC.*, p. 114 (*SJGM.*, I): तदनन्तरं सूहवदेव्या निजाङ्गजस्य कृते युवराजपदवीं याचितो नृपः संग्राहिणी पुत्रायास्मदीयं राज्यं न युज्यते इति बोधिता नृपतिं जिघांसुर्म्लेच्छानाहूतवती । See also the *Prabandha kośa* (*SJGM*. II), p. 57.

[9] *SJGM.*, II, p. 89: योऽन्यदा पृथ्वीराजं विगृह्य योगिनीपुरे स्थितः ।

Banaras."[1] Though we do not accept the entire story as true without any independent corroboration, the date referred to in the *Purātana Prabandha saṅgraha* seems more probable or very near to the date assigned to the invasion of Sihābuddin against Jayacandra. According to the *Taj-ul-Maasir,* Sihābuddin marched against Jayacandra in 590 Hijri or 1194 A.D.[2]

Hariścandra: According to the *Prabandha-kośa* Meghacandra was Jayacandra's son, perhaps born from the chief queen Karpūradevi.[3] He was killed in a battle with Moslems.[4] But the name of Jayacandra's son found in the Gāhaḍavāla records is Hariścandra,[5] who, it seems, ruled the kingdom for some time. Meghacandra of the *prabandhas* might be the second name of Hariścandra.

Capital: The Jain sources refer to Vārāṇasī as the only capital of the Gāhaḍavālas and they do not mention Kānyakubja as one of their capitals. The reason behind this seems to be that the seat of the Gāhaḍavālas was Vārāṇasī which did not lose its importance even after the occupation of Kānyakubja by them. The Jain writer had a special interest in Vārāṇasī on account of its religious importance for Jains. Even the Brāhmanical writer did not minimise the importance of Vārāṇasī, and they called the Gāhaḍavālas as the ruler of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja. Vārāṇasī really occupied a place of importance in the Gāhaḍavāla dominions which led even the Muslim writers sometimes to regard the Gāhadavālas as the 'Rai of Banaras'.[6] According to the *Purātana Prabandha saṅgraha,* the length of Vārāṇasī at that time was twelve *yojanas* and breadth nine *yojanas*.[7] We are told in one place that the area of the territory over which Jayacandra

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90: वर्षद्वयादनु तथा सुरत्राणः समाकारितः...सुरत्राणो भग्नः...अहम्मदपुत्र महम्मद दलपतिश्च कृतः। संवत् १२४८ वर्षे चैत्रसुदि १० दिने वाराणसीमादाय सुरत्राणः प्रवेशं कर्त्तुं प्रवृत्तः।

[2] Elliot, *History of India*, II, p. 222.

[3] (i) *SJGM.*, VI, p. 54: मेघचन्द्रः कुमारस्तस्य।

(ii) *PPS.*, pp. 89, 90: कर्पूरदेव्यात्मजस्य।

[4] *Ibid.* p. 90: ज्येष्ठपुत्रोऽपि निःसृत्य युद्धे विनष्टः।

[5] *EI.*, X, pp. 94, 98–99.

[6] Elliot, *History of India*, II, p. 223; from a recently discovered copper plate of King Vijayacandra, it appears, that Vārānasi at that time was one of the two capitals of the kings of this dynasty.

[7] *SJGM.*, II, 88: कान्यकुब्जदेशे वाराणसीपुरी नवयोजनविस्तीर्णा द्वादशयोजनायामा।

was ruling was 700 *yojanas* (square).[1]

Poet Śrīharṣa: Jayacandra's name will be ever remembered in the history of Saṁskṛt literature for patronising the renowned poet Śrīharṣa, son of Hīra by Māmalladevī. The Jain Rājaśekhara in his *Prabandha-kośa,* states that his father Hīra once was defeated by a court poet. But Śrīharṣa, in due course, having defeated his father's adversary established his prestige. However, one of Jayacandra's wives named Sūhavādevī had envy with him.[2] The statement that Śrīharṣa was in the court of Jayacandra is confirmed by the poet himself. Śrīharṣa, in the colophon of his chief work *Naiṣadhīya carita* states that he was honoured by the king of Kānyakubja with a pair of betel-leaves,"[3] perhaps it was a custom with Hindu Rājās to welcome men of eminence in this way.

Thus the following kings of this dynasty are known from the Jain sources:

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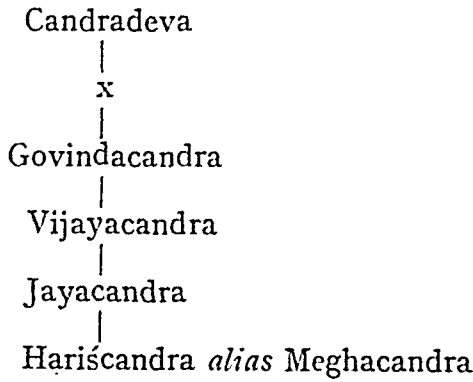
[1] *SJGM.*, VI, 117: सप्तशतयोजनभूनाथो जयन्तचन्द्रोऽपि।

These are hackneyed numbers which very vaguely referred to the extent of the territories.

[2] *Harṣakavi-prabandha*, pp. 54–57.

[3] *Naiṣadhīya Caritaṃ*, ed, Sivadatta (Bombay, 1919), XXII, p. 528: ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च लभते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात्।

CHAPTER IV

THE DYNASTIES OF EASTERN INDIA

I. THE PĀLAS

We neither know the condition of Eastern India after the downfall of the imperial Guptas nor do we catch any glimpse of the time of Harsa from the Jain sources. They also do not supply any reference regarding Śaśāṅka and later Guptas and have no record of the anarchy which prevailed before the foundation of the Pāla dynasty. The Pāla dynasty which emerges about the middle of the eighth century A.D., was a single ruling dynasty for about four centuries in Bengal. It is said that the first ruler of this dynasty, Gopāla, was an elected king, for which, however, there is no Jain support. On the other hand, we have several references to Dharmapāla who is generally regarded as the son and successor of Gopala.

Origin: Before proceeding to any detail, we should first enquire into the origin or ancestry of the Pālas. In a Campū kāvya called *Udayasundarīkathā*, composed by the poet Soḍḍala (a friend of some of the Jain scholars of Gujarāt in the eleventh century A.D.),[1] Dharmapāla is said to have belonged to the family of Māndhātā.[2] As Māndhātā is a well known Puranic king of the Solar Race, this reference supports the view that the Pālas belonged to the Solar Race, which is corroborated by the statements made in the Kamauli copper plates of Vaidyadeva.[3] Vaidyadeva was originally the minister of a Pāla king Vigrahapāla III. This Vigrahapāla is stated there to have belonged to the Solar dynasty. Strangely enough we do not find any mythical pedigree of the dynasty in the Pāla records. Perhaps one of the reasons why no reference to the origin and caste of the Pālas occurs in their own records is that they were Buddhists and did not care much to adopt Brāhmanical institutions or traditions. It should be observed, however, that early Buddhist tradition does not betray any aversion to tracing the origin of Buddhist republican tribes and dynasties

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[1] *GOS.*, XI. p. 155. Soḍḍala's Jain friends were Śwetāmbara Candanācārya, Khaḍgācārya, Vijayasiṁhācārya, and Mahākīrti Digambara.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4: वलीयसा सप्ताङ्गसमग्रेणोत्तरापथस्वामिना मान्धातृवंशप्रभवेण भूभृता धर्मपालेन etc.

[3] Ep. Ind., II, p. 350.

to the Solar or other ancient races. Bengal was the citadel of Buddhism at that time. It is said in the *Prabhāvaka-carita* that there was a great Buddhist controversialist, by name Vardhamānakuñjara, in the court of the king Dharmapāla and he had great influence upon the king.[1] It seems that Buddhism must have been enjoying the patronage of the Pāla king. The copper-plates of the Pālas begin with an invocation to the Lord Buddha and many kings of the dynasty are known to have been great patrons of Buddhism. The silence of the Pālas on their origin may indicate their rise from a low or unimportant family. But it is simply a negative inference.

Location: As regards the exact location of the Pāla kingdom we have no definite information from the Jain sources. It is referred to only that they were called the kings of the Gauḍa country. The capital city of Dharmapāla is said to have been Lakṣaṇāvatī (Lakhanauti.)[2] It is, however, generally accepted that the city of Lakṣaṇāvatī was founded by the king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty. It may be suggested here that it was perhaps renamed.

Kings: As to who was the first king of this dynasty we have no information from the Jain sources. A certain Gopāla is generally regarded as the founder of the dynasty. According to the inscriptions of the Pālas he was a king elected by people to recover the country from anarchy. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* mentions a certain Dharma different from Dharmapāla. who was attacked and killed in a battle by king Yaśovarma of Kanauj.[3] It seems that he must have been one of the rulers whose names are mentioned in the Tibetan lists as the predecessors of Dharmapāla.[4] Vākpatirāja, the renowned author of the *Gauḍavaho*, was formerly in the court of this king Dharma. He was among the captives whom Yaśovarman kept in prison after his victorious return at Kanauj. Vākpati composed the *Gauḍavaho*, celebrating the exploit of Yaśovarman's invasion of Bengal and thus got released from the prison.

Dharmapāla: It is generally accepted by historians that Dharmapāla was a son and successor of Gopāla, but on this point, Jain sources do not

[1] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 96: V. 392: [illegible] वादीन्द्रं राजा वर्धनकुञ्जरम् ।
धर्मः [illegible] [illegible] वाक्पती यथा ॥

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85, V. 162.: दिनैः कतिपयैर्गौडदेशान्तर्विहरन् गुरुः ।
श्रीलक्षणावतीपुर्यां [illegible] ॥

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 98, V. 463: यशोवर्मनृपो धर्मसन्धिना [illegible] ।
[illegible] भूपं [illegible] ॥

[4] See supra, p. 20.

yield any information. Dharmapāla was contemporary of king Āma, the son and successor of Yaśovarman. He is mentioned in the *Bappabhaṭṭi carita* by different names as Dharma, Dharmabhūpa or Dharmabhūpāla which are certainly the names of Dharmapāla of Bengal. He is said to have long cherished a feeling of enmity with the king Āma of Kanauj, which became an undying passion.[1] This indicates that he made several aggressive attempts on Kanauj and was baulked in his efforts. The reason for this undying enmity was obvious. It is noted above that one Gauḍa king was killed by the father of king Āma. It was probably this disgrace to his family that was rankling in the heart of the Bengal ruler, contemporary of Āma. We already know from other sources that Dharmapāla's efforts to overthrow the Kanauj ruler and bring Kanauj under his influence was more or less a peımanent factor of his foreign policy. But, if the *Bappa-bhaṭṭı-caıita* is to be believed, he was not able to carry it out during the life time of Āma. We have already identified this Āma with king Indra-rāja of the Bhāgalpur copper plates of Dharmapāla.[2]

How long the Pāla kings ruled is a matter of controversy. According to the Tibetan lists, Gopāla reigned from 660 to 705 A.D., Devapāla 705-753 A.D., Rasapāla 750-765 A.D. and Dharmapāla 765-825 A.D According to Dr. H. C. Ray, Gopāla reigned from 765 A.D. to 769 A.D., Dharma-pāla from 769 to 801 A.D., and Devapāla from 801 A.D. to 840 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his History of Bengal assumes that Gopāla reigned from 750 A.D. to 770 A.D., Dharmapāla 770-810 A.D. and Devapāla 810-850 A.D. But all these are based on assumptions, which may not be correct, because there are no contemporary records to check them. The ground of assumption is mostly some of the dated records of other dynasties and undated records of the Pāla dynasty.

Regarding the period of the reign of Dharmapāla we may safely deduce from the above mentioned Jain work that he ruled almost as long as king Āma of Kanauj (752 A.D. — 833 A.D.). According to the Tibetan historian, Tārānāth, he ruled for sixty-four years, while the Kalimpur copper-plates show that he reigned for at least thirty-two years.

From the Pāla and other contemporary inscriptions it appears that Dharmapāla must have been a powerful ruler of the time. Fortunately, we have got an independent positive evidence in support of the view that

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[1] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 85. V. 168: परं मेऽस्त्यामराजेन दुर्ग्रहो विग्रहाग्रहः।
तदाह्वानात् यदा पश्चाद् याति तन्मे तिरस्कृतिः॥

[2] See supra, pp. 26–27.

he held the position of a suzerain king in northern India. In the *Udaya-sundarī-kathā,* the king Dharmapāla is referred to as *'Uttarāpathaswāmī'* or Lord of Uttarāpatha.[1] This Dharmapāla can only be referred to the Pāla emperor of that name—the expression 'Pañca Gauḍa' is also possibly reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla.

The *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* also throws some light over the personal history of king Dharmapāla. He was a great lover and patron of learning. Though he was by faith a Buddhist, he equally respected the scholars of other sects. Jain savant like Bappabhaṭṭi and the poet Vākpati of the Brāhmanical sect were no less regarded in his court than the Buddhist saints and writers. He was also very fond of scholarly debates. A debate of such a type was held in his court which lasted for six months.[2]

Devapāla: Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla and the latter by his son Vigrahapāla I. As regards Devapāla we have no direct reference to him in the Jain sources, but in this connection we have an interesting reference to a Pāla ruler, Yuvarāja by name, in the *Udaya-sundarī kathā.* We learn from this work that a famous poet Abhinanda by name graced his court.[3] The *Rāma carita,* composed by this poet (Abhinanda), gives more details about Yuvarāja who is described as a great conqueror. He had the epithet Haravarṣa and was the son of Vikrama-śīla. He is also referred to as the ornament of the Pāla family founded by Dharmapāla.[4] These epithets leave no doubt that Yuvarāja Haravarṣa belonged to the Pāla family of Bengal. According to the *Udayasundarī-kathā,* he was a powerful ruler, a statement which is also corroborated by the *Rāma carita.* The question, therefore, naturally arises whether he is to be identified with a known Pāla king, or regarded as a ruler over some territory outside Bengal or Bihar. It has been suggested by certain scholars that Vikramaśīla, the father of Yuvarāja I, was but another name of Dharmapāla who founded the Vikramaśīlā monastery and Haravarṣa is identical with Devapāla.[5] Regarding Vigrahapāla I, we have perhaps no reference in the Jain sources. He was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇapāla.

Rājyapāla: Nārāyaṇapāla died about 908 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla. Rājyapāla's son was called Gopāla II. Several records

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[1] See supra, p. 53. fn. 2.

[2] *SJGM.,* XIII, pp. 94–7.

[3] *GOS.,* IVL, p. 2.

[4] Pālakula candra, Pālakula pradīpa etc., Dharmapāla kula kairava Kānanendu. Chap. I., V. 110, p. 10.

[5] R. C. Majumdar: *History of Bengal,* Pt. I, Chap. VI, p. 123.

of these kings have been found in Magadha. Among these records one Jain inscription has so far been discovered regarding king Rājyapāla. It was found incised on a pillar at Baragāon near Bihar Shariff (Patna District) on the site of old Nālandā. The pillar and the record appear to have belonged to an ancient Jain temple.[1] The inscription consists of five lines of incorrect Saṃskṛt and records the visit of one Vaidyanāth, son of Manorath, of the Vāhīkakula, to a temple in the month of Mārga (śīrṣa) in the 24th year of the reign of the illustrious Rājapāla (Rājyapāla). This inscription shows that, in the 24th year of reign of Rājyapāla (c. 911-35 A.D.), the Patna district and possibly Monghyr, Bhāgalpur and the Santal Parganā also were included in the Pāla territory.

Mahīpāla I: Among the later Pālas, Mahīpāla I (c. 988-1038 A.D.) appears to be of some importance. The Jain sources have certain references regarding this king. According to Hemacandra, a king of Aṅga country was amongst the claimants of the queen Durlabhādevī at the time of her *svayaṁvara*, with whom the Caulukya king Durlabha, who later married her, had to fight. This Durlabha ascended the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka about 1009-10 A.D. The rival king of Aṅga country, therefore, most likely seems to have been this Mahīpāla whose reign falls at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.[2]

The Prabhāvaka carita also records in one place that a certain Dharma of Kaula sect, having defeated some top-ranking poets in various places, appeared at the court of Bhoja of Dhārā. In this connection it says that Dharma of the Kaula sect defeated Śambhū in the metropolis of Gauḍa Mahāmahīpa. This Gauḍa king Mahāmahīpa is certainly the king Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty the period of whose reign coincides with that of king Bhoja I of Dhārā (c. 1010 A.D.—1054 A.D.).[3]

We, however, do not know of the other members of the dynasty from Jain sources.

Thus the known kings of this family are:

Dharmapāla
|
Rājyapāla
|
Mahīpāla

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[1] *IA.*, XLVII, p. 111. The pillar is now in a modern Jain temple at Barāgaon ; See also *JBORS.*, Dec, 1928, p. 489.

[2] *DHNI.*, II, pp. 945-46.

[3] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 147, V. 256: शम्भुगाडमहामहीपकटके etc.

II. THE SENAS OF BENGAL

After having reigned on the soil of Bengal successfully for about four centuries the Pālas began to decline and on their extinction arose a dynasty named Sena.

The Jain sources throw welcome light on this dynasty.

Origin: From the records of the Sena dynasty it appears that they sprang from the family of the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriyas. For instance, the Deopara Stone inscription of Vijayasena tells us that in the family of the moon were born the southern rulers (*Dākṣiṇātya Kṣauṇīndra*) Vīrasena and others. In the Sena family (*Sena-anvaye*) was born Sāmantasena, the Kulaśirodāma of the Brahma-Kṣatriyas, who slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa (*Karṇāṭa Lakṣmī Luṇṭākānāṁ*).[1] In the Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, Sāmanta Sena is described as the head garland (kulaśirodāma) of the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriyas.[2] In the *Ballāla-carita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa (10th cent.) it is said that the Senas of Bengal sprang from the descendants of Vīrasena and were higher in rank than the Kṣatriya, being Brahma-Kṣatriyas like the Pāndavas.[3] From these passages it is clear that the ancestors of the Senas came from Karnāṭa in Deccan and settled in Rādha, in West Bengal.

Taking into consideration this fact when we look to the Jain literature and certain Jain epigraphs of that period we find certain terms as Senasaṅgha, Senagaṇa, Senānvaya, and several names ending in Sena in the Karṇāṭa country.

The earliest reference occurs in the Mulguṇḍā inscription[4] of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, dated 902-5 A.D. It states that a temple of Jina was founded in the city of Mulguṇḍa in the Dhavala viṣaya and records some grants to that temple. These grants were given in trust (for the temple) to a Jain teacher named Kanakasena of the Sena lineage (*Senānvaya*) and a disciple of Vīrasena who apparently had been the chief disciple of an ācārya named Kumārasena. Taking these three generations of teachers covering at least half a century, we are in a position to assert that the Sena family flourished in the Dhavalaviṣaya (modern Dhārwār district) as early as the middle of the 9th

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[1] *EI.*, I, p. 307, Vs. 4–5 and 8.

[2] *JASB.*, 1901, V, (N.S.) p. 471, V. 4.

[3] *Ballāla carita*, Ed. by H. P. Śāstrī, Calcutta, Chap. XII, p. 55; Trans. by the same 1901, p. 48.

[4] *EI.*, XIII, p. 193.

century A.D.[1] The next reference to the Sena family occurs in the Honwad Stone inscription[2] of the time of the western Cālukya king Someśvara I, dated 1054 A.D. It refers to three teachers, viz., Brahmasena, his disciple Āryasena and the latter's disciple Mahāsena. The feet of the first are said to have been adored by a number of kings while the third was preceptor of a feudatory chief of the Cālukya dynasty, and author of the inscription referred to above. It thus appears that a Sena family enjoyed influence and prestige during the first half of the 11th century A.D.

In the Śravaṇa Belgola epigraph of the western Gaṅga chief Mārasiṁha II, it is told that he preserved the doctrine of Jina, founded various Jain temples and, eventually, left his throne and ended his days in the practice of religion at Bankāpur (in the Dharwar district), at the feet of a Jain teacher, Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka.[3] According to the *Cāmuṇḍarāya purāṇa*, Cāmuṇḍarāya who was the minister of Mārasiṁha II and was born in the Brahma-kṣatra race, was a pupil of this Ajitasena. As Mārasiṁha's reign extends from 964 A.D. to 975 A.D. Ajitasena must have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.

The Śravaṇa Belgola record of Malliṣeṇa refers to a number of Jain teachers with names ending in Sena, such as Kumārasena I, Kumārasena II, Puṣpasena, Hemasena, Guṇasena, Ajitasena and Malliṣeṇa.[4] The time of all these teachers has been assigned to a period from 9th to 10th century by scholars.[5]

From the above references it may be said with a degree of certainty that a Sena family flourished in the Karṇāṭa country during a period ranging from the 9th to the 11th century A.D.

If we compare all these Jain references with those referred to above regarding the origin of the Sena dynasty we can well deduce that the ancestors of the Senas and the members of the Sena family of Karṇāṭa came out of a common stock and their race was Brahma-ksatriya.

The fact that the Senas of Dhārwār were Jains while the Sena kings of Bengal were Śaivas need not stand in the way of the proposed identification. The change of religion is not an unfamiliar feature of Indian society. The religious revolution in Karṇātaka in the eleventh and twelfth

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1 *IA* , XIX, p. 271.

2 *PTOC.*, II (Calcutta), p. 344.

3 *EI.*, V, p. 171: वंकापुरदोल् अजितसेनभट्टारक श्रीपादसन्निधियोल etc.

4 *EI.*, III, p. 184 ff.

5 Dr. Hiralal, *Śilālekha saṅgraha*, I, Introduction, 152.

centuries A.D., which ultimately led to the foundation of the Vīra-Śaiva or Lingāyat sect, may have changed the creed of the Jain family into Śaivism. The conversion of the Cālukya prince Jayasiṁha II (c. 1018-1042 A.D.) from Jainism to Śaivism is an interesting example on the point. It is most likely that some members of the Sena family, influenced by the conversion of the ruling dynasty to Śaivism, embraced the new creed.[1]

It may again be argued that the Sena family or religious teachers could hardly have anything to do with the Sena family wielding political powers. But we can cite several instances which may show the possibility of the transformation of religious teachers to the founders of political powers. Haricand, the founder of the Pratīhāra dynasty, was a Brāhmaṇa, proficient in Vedas.[2] Another example of Mayūraśarmā, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, originally a devotee to the study of the Vedas and the performer of sacrificial rites, shows that in South also. creed or caste was not regarded as hindrance to a military career.[3]

The fact that Sāmantasena, one of the ancestors of the Senas, is called *Brahmavādī* in the Deopārā inscription and that he retired in his old age to a hermitage on the bank of the Gaṅgā, where even parrots knew by note the text of the Vedas, seems to support the conclusion that he too like Haricand and Mayūraśarma, was a Brāhmaṇa and sprang up from a line of teachers, but due to certain circumstances he adopted a Kṣatriya's life and soon gained prominence by acts of bravery in battles.[4]

From the 8th verse of the Deopārā inscription we learn that Sāmantasena defeated the hostile forces that were plundering the Karṇāṭa country. The western Cālukya inscriptions refer to the fact that shortly before 1060 A.D. the Cola king, Rājendra Deva, penetrated into the Dharwar district and burned the Jain temples but was eventually defeated and killed.[5] It is not unlikely that Sāmantasena distinguished himself on this occasion by warding off the foreign attacks, and that this was the turning point in the fortunes of the family. This would give a satisfactory explanation to the puzzling word Brahma-kṣatriya applied to him. In the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena, which is one of the earliest documents of the Senas. they still remembered their Brahmin origin. But the prefix Brahma gradually

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[1] *PTOC.*, II (Calcutta), 1922, p. 345.

[2] *EI.*, XVIII, p. 87., V. 6: वेदशास्त्रार्थपारगः द्विजः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्यः प्रजापतिसमो गुरुः।

[3] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 31, 32, Vs. 4–20.

[4] *DHNI.*, I, p. 356.

[5] *BG.*, I, Pt. II, p. 442.

disappears in their records. In the Barrackpur grant of the same king, Sāmantasena is there already the head-ornament of only the Kṣatriyas.

Scholars suggest that Sāmantasena or one of his predecessors came to Bengal from the far-off province of Karṇāṭa in the train of the Cālukya prince Vikramāditya when the latter invaded N.E. India during c. 1044-68 A.D.

The Jain sources, however, do not throw any light on the early kings of the dynasty.

Lakṣmaṇasena: Among the later rulers of the Sena dynasty, the Jain chroniclers of the western India mention the name of Lakṣmaṇasena (1179-1206 A.D.) with his ministers Kumāradeva and Umāpatidhara. The *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* states that 'in the country of Gauda in the city of Lakṣmaṇāvati, a king of the name of Lakṣmaṇasena ruled for a long time and his kingdom was administered by the minister Umāpatidhara who was a treasure-house of all intelligence. But the king became blind with passion and contracted the disgraceful stain of association with a Mātaṅgī (woman of a very low caste, untouchable community)."

"Umāpatidhara, having found himself unable to restrain his master, wrote up secretly certain stanzas in the notice-board of the council-pavilion in order to admonish him in another way. But the king got offended and developed secret hatred against the minister and wished to get rid of him. The king planned to kill Umāpatidhara but he saved himself through his intelligence. The king on the other hand repented of his foolish act and gradually abandoned that evil practice and made Umāpatidhara once more his minister."[2]

Fortunately we have a reference to Umāpatidhara in the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva as one among the several court poets of Lakṣmaṇasena.[3] The *Sadūkti Karṇāmṛta* quotes about ninety verses of Umāpatidhara. The name of Umāpatidhara occurs also as the author of a *praśasti* in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena, the father of Vallālasena.[4] The authorship of the Madhainagar copper plates of Lakṣmaṇasena has sometimes been credited by certain scholars to him. Deopārā inscription informs us that Umāpati-

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., (Dr.), *The Origin of the Sena Kings*, in *PTOC.*, II p. 346–47; See also *History of Bengal*, Edited by the same, pp. 208–09.

[2] *SJGM.*, I. pp. 112–13. लक्ष्मणसेनोमापतिधरयोः प्रवन्धः — अथ गौडदेशे लखणावत्यां नगर्यां श्रीलक्ष्मणसेनो नाम नृपतिरुमापतिधरनाम्ना सचिवेन सर्ववुद्धिनिधानेन चिन्त्यमानश्चिरं राज्यं चकार। स त्वनेकमत्तमातंगसैन्यसङ्गादिव मदेनान्धता दधानो मातंगीसङ्गपङ्ककलंकभाजनमजनि।

[3] V. 4.

[4] *EI.*, I., pp. 305–15.

dhara lived during the reign of Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty.

If any reliance can be placed on the tradition recorded by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha cintāmaṇi,* then he lived in the successive reigns of Vijayasena, his son and his grand-son.[1]

Another Jain Work *Prabandha-kośa* composed by Rājaśekharasūri records the story of king Lakṣmaṇasena and his minister Kumāradeva. It states:

> "In the east there was a city called Lakṣṇāvatī. There lived a mighty and righteous king Lakṣmaṇasena. He had a minister named Kumāradeva, man of wisdom, valour and devotion, and as dear as his (king's) life. He had an extensive kingdom and a huge army. He had his contemporary adversary in the person of king Jayantacandra, king of Vārāṇasī, who had a minister named Vidyādhara, ranking first among the noble-minded, the givers of food and the speakers of truth.[2] Once the king Jayantacandra solemnly declared to attack and seize the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena, otherwise he would remain in the fort as long as the capital was not captured and would realize a compensation of a hundred thousand gold pieces. Accordingly he attacked and besieged the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena and the siege continued for eighteen days, which resulted in a lot of trouble to the ruler and his subjects. But through the intelligence and skill of the minister Kumāradeva that adversity was warded off without payment of compensation and thus the king and his subjects were saved."[3]

The *Purātana Prabandha saṅgraha* in its *Jayacandra prabandha* records the same story but in an abridged form.[4]

As to who Kumāradeva was, we do not know from any other source. The History of Bengal refers to one Kumāracandra who was an *avadhūta* of Vikramapurī Vihāra of Bengal in Eastern Magadha and was responsible for three *Tāntric Pañjikās* (commentaries) preserved in Tibetan. One more reference to a Kumāravajra occurs in that book. But we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, hazard any identification.

All these references regarding Lakṣmaṇasena, show that he was a powerful contemporary of Jayacandra whose reign is assigned from 1170

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[1] *History of Bengal* (Ed. R. C. Majumdar), p. 65; See also *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* (Tr. by Tawney), Preface, XVIII.

[2] महेच्छानां अन्नदातॄणां सत्यवादिनां च प्रथमः।

[3] *SJGM.*, VI, pp. 88–90: लक्ष्मणसेनस्य मन्त्रिणः कुमारदेवस्य च प्रबन्धः।

[4] *SJGM.*, II, p. 88.

to 1194 A.D. We know from the history of the Senas that his kingdom extended in the west up to the border of the Gayā district. It was, therefore, quite natural for the Senas to come in conflict with the ruler of Vārāṇasī i.e. the Gāhaḍavālas.

We have no records about the successors of Lakṣmaṇasena but the *Purātana Prabandha saṅgraha* records a king Ratnapuñja, descendant of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Lakhanapuri. Nothing particular is mentioned about this king.[1]

III. THE KEŚARĪ DYNASTY OF KALIṄGA (ORĪSSĀ)

Among the later dynasties which ruled over Kalinga in the early mediaeval period one was the Keśarī dynasty. From the history of Orissa it appears that it was a minor dynasty and details regarding it are not known yet to the historians.

Fortunately we have two small Jain epigraphs of Udyotakeśarī, one of the rulers of the dynasty. These records were found in the caves of Udayagiri Khaṇḍagiri hills near Bhuvaneśwar in Orīssā. The first inscription discovered in the cave called Lalitendu Keśari's cave or Lion gate, was incised in the fifth year of the reign of Udyotakeśarideva.[2] It is engraved on the back wall of the cave at a height of about thirty or forty feet from the floor of the cave above a group of Jain images of the Digambera sect. The record consists of five lines of characters of the tenth century A.D. and the language used is very incorrect Saṃskṛt.[3]

Apart from recording the year of Udyotakeśarī's reign this inscription preserves certain additional information of note. Firstly, it records the ancient name of Khaṇḍagiri as Kumāraparvata. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela also mentions the same name (Kumārīparvata) of the hills. Thus it seems that up to the 10th or the 11th century A.D. the hill was known as the Kumāra or Kumārīparvata. Secondly, the word Īśāna (Skt. Īśāna) in the second line, most probably connotes here a temple while its usual meaning is Śiva. Thirdly, the word 'Opa' in the fourth line refers most probably to the numerous rock cut reservoirs on hills. Fourthly, the word 'Udyota' in the third line, which means 'caused to shine', indicates that the wells and temples of the Tīrthaṅkaras were

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[1] p. 84: श्रीमाताप्रबन्धः।

[2] श्री उद्योतकेशरिविजयराज्यसंवत् ५।

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 165–66, No. XVI.

repaired. Lastly, this inscription with other inscriptions found in that area denote that in that area several Jain monks were residing and carrying on their religious duties rigorously.[1]

The second record, discovered on the inner side of the architrave of the Navamuni cave, was incised in the 18th year of the reign of the same ruler. It contains three lines and has been very clearly engraved. This inscription is particularly marked with certain honorific words[2] for the king which are absent in the former one, thereby certainly denoting that Udyotakeśarī wielded great power.

The Udyotakeśarī of these inscriptions has been identified with the prince of the same name whose Bhuvaneśvara inscription, dated in his 18th year, was edited by Princep as early as 1838. The name Udyotakeśarī is also found in the Sonapur grant of Somavaṁsī Kumāra Someśvaradeva of Kosala. According to the identification given by scholars all these princes bearing the name of Udyotakeśarī were identical.[3]

According to the historians, kings with the names ending in Keśarin belong to a Keśarīvaṁśa which has been identified with the Keśarivamśa of the *Madla Panjī*, an Orissan chronicle. Certain scholars assume that this dynasty is a branch of the Somavaṁśa of Kosala.[4]

The discovery of most of the inscriptions of Udyotakeśarin near Bhuvaneśwar certainly denotes the transference of the seat of the Somavaṁśī kingdom from Sambalpur region to the sea board of Orissa.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*,: श्री कुमारपर्वतस्थाने जिर्ग्ण इसग उद्योतित तस्मिन् थाने चतुर्विंशतितीर्थंकरस्थापित प्रतिष्ठाकाले हरि ओप जसनन्दिक etc.

[3] *DHNI.*, Pt. I, pp. 410–12.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 409.: श्रीमद् उद्योतकेसरिदेवस्य प्रवर्धमाने विजयराज्ये संवत् १८ श्री आर्यसंघ प्रतिबद्धग्रहकुलविनिर्गतदेशीगणाचार्यश्रीकुलचन्द्रभट्टारकस्य शिष्यशुभचन्द्रस्य।

CHAPTER V

THE DYNASTIES OF CENTRAL INDIA.

I. THE CANDELLAS.

The origin of the Candellas is recorded neither in the Jain works nor in other works known to us. It appears from traditions and epigraphic evidences that the first few princes of the dynasty were feudatories of the great Pratīhāra emperors of Kānyakubja. Most of the inscriptions of the early kings of the dynasty found at Khajurāho denote that their original home was Kharjūrvāha and its surrounding area.

Yaśovarman I: As regards the individual kings of the dynasty the earliest mentioned in the Jain sources is Yaśovarma. He is called in the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* as the king Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka.[1] I have shown elsewhere that Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka of the prabandha writers is most probably Kāliñjar, the capital of the Candella kings.[2] If the assumption is right, this Yaśovarman mentioned in the above work must have been one of the two Yaśovarmans of the dynasty. It is said about him that he kept tied the bell of Justice (*Nyāyaghaṇṭā*) in the door of his palace. Law and Justice to him was above all things.[3] Once the family deity thought of testing him on this point, and he proved his love of Justice by sacrificing his son.

This Yaśovarman, who must have been the famous father of the great king Dhaṅga, considerably extended the boundaries of the Candella kingdom and acquired a fame which found a place in the records of his son. The prabandha writers have done their duty in preserving the anecdotes of his fame in their works. He may not be the Yaśovarman II, son of Madanavarman, who died before his father.

We have fortunately several Jain inscriptions of the Candella kings which help us considerably in fixing their chronology.

Dhaṅga: The next king who appears in the Jain inscription discovered from Khajurāho is Dhaṅga, son of Yaśovarman I. This inscription[4] is

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, pp. 107–08: कल्याणकटकेपुरे यशोवर्मनृपतिस्तेन धवलगृहद्वारे न्यायघण्टा वद्धा।

[2] See *infra*, Chap. on the Caulukyas.

[3] *Ibid.*, मम न्याय एव महान्।

[4] *EI.*, I, pp 135–36.

carved on the left door jamb of the temple of Jinanāth. It consists of eleven lines of Saṁskṛt, partly in prose and partly in verse. The inscription begins with Oṁ and then gives the date V.E. 1011. It records a number of gifts made by one Pāhilla who was 'held in honour by Dhaṅgarāja'[1] and was devoted to the lord of the Jinas. The gifts mainly consist of various gardens (Vāṭaka).

This inscription shows that the Candellas from the time of Dhaṅga were practically independent and owned no suzerainty. The temples of Khajurāho, which are considered as 'the finest group of Hindu temples in Northern India and are usually assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries, bear evidence to the splendour and progress of the Candellas in the arts of peace.[2] Some of these structures certainly belong to the reign of Ḍhaṅga. The temple of Jinanāth is one of the fine edifices of the time of Dhaṅga.

Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara: Dhaṅga was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍa and the latter by his son Vidyādhara. We have some intelligence regarding Vidyādhara from a Jain inscription of Dubkunḍ (A.D. 1088). That inscription informs us that Kacchapaghāṭa rulers of that place were his feudatories and his power, perhaps in the west, extended along the east bank of the river Cambal.

Madanavarman: After Vidyādhara we have no account of the three succeeding generations in the Jain sources. In the fourth generation of Vidyādhara appears Madanavarman from whom, we have, fortunately, six dated Jain epigraphs. The two Jain image inscriptions in the temple of the village Papaurā near Tikamgarh district (Madhya-Pradeśa) are dated V.E. 1202 (A.D. 1144-45), in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.[3] The two Jain image inscriptions from Khajurāho are dated in V.E. 1205 (A.D. 1147-48) and 1215 (A.D. 1157-58) respectively.[4] The former two do not contain the name of the reigning king; but they refer to the sons of the Śreṣṭhi Pāṇidhara of the Grahapati family (anvaya) which is well known from the other inscription of Kokkala of V.E. 1058.[5] The latter two refer to the "*Madanavarmadevasya pravardhamānavijayarājye*," in the increasing victorious reign of Madanavarma. Lastly, we have two more Jain image

[1] धांगराजेन मान्य प्रणमति जिननाथोऽयं भव्यपाहिल्लनाम ।

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, II, pp. 49 ff.; 140 ff.

[3] See *infra*, on the Kacchapaghātas.

[4] Nāthurām Premī, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihās*, p. 193.

[5] *EI.*, I., pp. 151–153.

inscriptions from Mahobā, dated respectively V.E. 1211 (A.D. 1155)[1] and 1221 (A.D. 1163),[2] in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.

From the above inscriptions it may safely be inferred that Madanavarman's kingdom was prosperous and vast, extending from Mahobā to Tikamgarh district. It may be gathered from these references that the Candella power had reached beyond the Betwa in the S.W. and advanced into the Paramāra territory in Mālavā. This is why Madanavarman's successor Paramardi bore the title 'Daśārṇādhipati.'[3] This achievement of the Candellas in this direction seems to have brought them into contact with the Caulukyas of Anahilapātaka. The Jain chroniclers of Western India refer to the wars between Madanavarman and Siddharāja Jayasiṁha and later on with Kumārapāla.

Regarding the struggle with Jayasiṁha Siddharāja we are informed from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* that Jayasiṁha (*c*. 1094-1144 A.D.) conquered Ujjainī[4] and in his records and colophons of MSS. we actually find his title Avantināth. The *Kīrti-kaumudī* refers to the migration of Jayasiṁha from Dhārā to Kaliñjara.[5] The *Kumārapāla-carita* confirms this fact and states that Madanavarman, paying a good ransom of ninety-six crores of gold coins to Jayasiṁha, purchased the peace.[6] This statement of the Jain authors is further corroborated with that of a Kaliñjara stone epigraph that Madanavarman in an instant defeated the king of Gurjaras, as Kṛṣṇa in former times defeated Kaṁsa.[7] Scholars generally identify this Gurjareśa with Gujarāt king Siddharāja.[8]

There is an interesting story in the *Prabandha-kośa* regarding the struggle between Caulukya Jayasiṁha and Candella Madanavarman which may be summarised as follows:

Once in the court of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha came an itinerary

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1 *ASR.*, XXI, p. 49, plate XII, A.

2 *Ibid.*, II, p. 448, N. 25.

3 *IA.*, XIX, p. 354.

4 Canto 14, Vs. 72–73. जग्राह मालवपतिं युधि नर्त्तितासि नाटेरकः सपुलकश्चुलुकप्रवीरः।
चुलुक्योगुप्तावक्षैप्सीत्तं यशोवर्मभूपं।

5 Canto, 2, V. 33: धाराध्वंसप्रसंगेन यस्य सान्निध्यशंकितः।
प्राघूर्णकमिपाद्दण्डमहोवकपतिर्ददौ।

6 Canto 1, V. 42: महोवकपुराधीशाज्जितान्मदनवर्मणः।
कोटीं षण्णवतिं हेम्ना यस्तन्मानमिवाददे।

7 *JASB.*, 1848, XVII, Pt. I., p. 778, line 14.

8 *BG.*, I. Pt. I., p. 178.

who comparing the court of Jayasiṁha with that of Madanavarman gave a beautiful description of Mahobā. To testify the statement of that person, the king sent his minister to get the real information from Mahobā and hearing its corroboration on his return, Jayasiṁha, out of jealousy took to an incursion on Mahobā, the capital of Madanavarman. When the news of this incursion reached Mahobā, Madanavarman was sporting with his thousand of damsels. When asked by ministers he reported: "Is he the same Jayasiṁha who stood for twelve years beseiging the city of Dhārā? He seems to be a very obstinate king. Ask him whether he wants money or land. If he wants money give him as much as he wants. If he wants land, we are prepared to wage a war." Jayasiṁha on hearing this message, was much astonished and demanded a tribute of ninety-six crores of gold coins, which he was instantly paid up. Thereafter Jayasiṁha sought a personal interview with king Madanavarman which was readily granted. This sight of pomp and splendour displayed by the king dismayed Jayasiṁha exceedingly.[1]

Though this anecdote is highly exaggerated, yet it shows that Madanavarman was a prosperous ruler and indulged too much in the amorous pastimes.[2]

Another war of Madanavarman with the Caulukya king Kumārapāla is also recorded by the Jains. Hemacandra in his *Prākṛt Dvyāśraya-kāvya* states that "having seen the wondering army of Kumārapāla, the ruler of Daśārṇa country was terrified to death. The wealth of the vast capital was carried away by his soldiers and several generals of that king (ruler of Daśārṇa) met with death at their hands."[3] Though this statement does not clearly mention the name of the ruler of Daśārṇa, we may, however, infer that Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.) and his successor Paramardı (c. 1163-1202 A.D.) were the two contemporary kings of Kumārapāla (1144 73 A.D.). We have seen that they were the Candella kings who really held

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[1] *SJGM.*, VI, pp. 91–93: मदनवर्मप्रबन्धः ।

[2] *Ibid.*: स नारीकुञ्जरः सभायां कदापि नोपविशति केवलं हरिणललितानि तनोति।

[3] p. 210, Vs. 80–84: तुज्झपहरिसिविरं घुम्माविअ हंसमाणकुम्भम्मि दिट्ठ वि दसण्णवइ विवडमाणो भए मरइ ।

The Prabhāvaka-carita (*SJGM.* XIII, p. 205) records this struggle in a reverse way. It states that once king of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka (identified as Kālanjara), started an incursion on Kumārapāla. He was feared due to this sudden attack. The enemy, however, died within seven days.

sway over Daśārṇa (E. Mālavā). Therefore the king in this context who died terror-stricken, must have been Madanavarman who, due to his old-age, may have been unable to encounter the army of Kumārapāla and died of fear. Paramardi on the other hand was a strong ruler and there seems to be no possibility of the above quoted accident during his reign. The fact that Kumārapāla then extended his dominion upto Daśārna is proved by his two inscriptions dated V.E. 1220 (A.D. 1163) and V.E. 1222 (A.D. 1166), found Kumārapāla then extended his dominion upto Daśārna is proved by his two inscriptions dated V.E. 1220 (A.D. 1163) and V.E. 1222 (A.D. 1166), found at Udayapur in the Eastern Mālavā.[1] This also proves the possibility of the above conflict. His relationship with the neighbouring king of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty was also not a cordial one. We know from a statement recorded in the *Rambhā-mañjurī* of Nayacandra that Jayacandra as a prince had inflicted a defeat on Madanavarman.[2] Anyway, whatever may have been the intention of that statement, it is certain that both of them were on hostile terms.

A Jain inscription from Ahāra in the Tikamgarh district states that a city, by name Madaneśasāgarapur was founded by him after his name.[3]

Paramardi: From the Candella grants it appears that Madanavarman was immediately succeeded by Paramardi. We have fortunately one image inscription from Mahobā of his period. It records the dedications of the image in V.E. 1224 (A.D. 1168), in the 'Pravardhamāna-kalyāna-vijaya-rājya' of Paramardideva.[4] We learn from the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* that Paramardi bore an epithet which made Jayacandra Gāhaḍavāla envious of him. Therefore, he attacked him and besieged his capital by name Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka.[5] From this anecdote we may conclude that from the time of Paramardi's predecessor Madanavarman both the kingdoms were hostile.

We are also informed that Paramardi "was involved in war with Prithvīrāja, the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, and in the ensuing con-

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[1] *IA.*, XVIII, p. 341–44.

[2] See *supra* p. 50.

[3] See, *infra* p. 70.

[4] *ASR.*, XXI, p. 74, plate XXIII, G.

[5] *SJGM.*, II p. 90: कोपकालाग्निरुद्र अवंध्यकोपप्रसाद रायद्रह वोलादिविरुदानि श्री परमर्द्दिनः श्रुत्वा श्री जयचन्द्रोऽसहमानस्तदुपरि ससैन्यश्चचाल। तद्देशभङ्गं कुर्वाणः कल्याणकटकनाम्नी राजधानी-माजगाम स क्रमेण।

flict his army was defeated and he became a fugitive."[1] This statement of Merutuṅga is strikingly corroborated by the Madanpur inscription[2] and Cand's Rāso from which we know that he sustained a reverse in 1182-83 A.D. at the hands of Prithvīrāja Cauhān, who occupied Mahobā and other fortresses in Bundelkhaṇḍa. But Paramardi escaped and afterwards recovered the lost ground. In 1202 A.D. he encountered the attack of Qutb-ud-Din and a little after he died.

We have fortunately one Jain inscription, dated V.E. 1237 (A.D. 1181), of his reign. It has been engraved on the pedestal of a Jain colossus of the Lord Śāntināth at Ahāra in the district of Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradeśa. It consists of 9 lines in Saṅskṛt. It records a pedigree of a Jain merchant named Jāhad of Grahapati family who installed that colossus in the temple at Madaneśasāgarapura in the prosperous reign of Śrīmad Paramardideva.[3]

This inscription shows that there was a city by name Madaneśasāgarapur, perhaps, founded after the name of king Madanavarman.

Paramardi was succeeded by his son Trailokyavarman who ruled for thirty-six years. Unluckily, we have no information about this king in the Jain sources, but about his son Vīravarmadeva we have two Jain inscriptions recently discovered.[4]

This first inscription has been found in the temple of Śāntināth near the Ajayapāla tank at Ajaigarh in Pannā District, Madhya Pradeśa. The inscription consists of three lines in Saṁskṛt dated V.E. 1331 (A.D. 1275) in the reign of illustrious Vīravarmadeva. Perhaps it records the foundation of the temple by Ācārya Kumudacandra.

The second inscription has been found in the image pedestal of Śāntināth at Ajayagarh. This inscription consists of four lines in the Saṁskṛt and records the installation of an image of Śāntināth by a gentleman named Ṣoḍala in the prosperous reign of the illustrious Vīravarmadeva in the year V.E. 1335 (A.D. 1278).

These two Jain epigraphs along with the other published seven records of Vīravarmadeva show that he was a king of some note and was the ruler of his ancestral territories.

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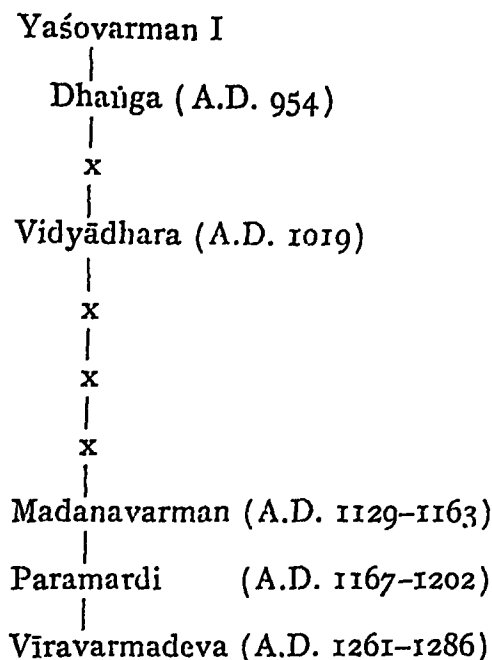
[1] *SJGM.*, I., p. 116: न च [illegible] श्री पृथ्वीराजेन सह [illegible] ।

[2] *ASI.*, Wc., 1903–04, p. 55.

[2] *Premi Abhinandana Grantha*, p. 625.

[4] I am indebted to Mr. V. S. Pathak of the Banaras Hindu University for supplying these two inscriptions.

About the history of the successors of Vīravarmadeva the Jain sources are almost silent.

Thus the following kings have come to light from the Jain sources:—

II. THE KACCHAPAGHĀṬAS

The Kacchapaghāṭas were among those aspirants who became independent after the disintegration of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power. There epigraphic records show that they were masters of the area around Eastern Rājasthān and the region of Gwalior. They appear to be ruling over the small principalities of Gwalior, Dubkuṇḍa and Narwar. Two of these branches are known from the Jain inscriptions.

THE KACCHAPAGHĀṬAS OF GWALIOR: The history of this branch of the Kacchapaghāṭas is mainly known from he Sāsabahū temple inscription of Mahīpāla composed by a Jain author Yaśodeva Digambarārka.[1] (the sun of Digambaras, a well known sect of the Jains) who is also called in another inscription of this branch, as the Nirgranthanāth (the master of the Nirgranthas).[2] This inscription has been found engraved on a slab inside the

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[1] *IA.*, XV, pp. 33–46.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 201–2, V, 23; a term used for the followers of Mahāvīra and in latter centuries only applied to the Digambara Jains.

larger of the two temples called Sāsabahū kā Dehrā in the fortress of Gwalior. It is a large inscription containing 42 lines consisting of 112 Saṁskṛt verses and is dated V.E. 1150, in the reign of the eighth member of this branch by names Mahīpāla.[1] It belongs to a temple of Viṣṇu and has nothing to do with the Jains except that its author is a Jain. It, however, opens with the salutation of *Padmanātha*,[2] a word which according to scholars, is the local name of Viṣṇu. But in my opinion, in spite of its being the local name of Viṣṇu, its use here by a Jain author may be interpreted as a pun which has double meaning: the one may be Viṣṇu as assumed by the scholars, and the other may be the sixth Tīrthankara of the Jains called by that name, whom the author invokes. The inscription devotes 4 verses invoking Aniruddha, the Lord of Uṣā, perhaps the family deity of Mahīpāla. Though the inscription is a large one, it, however, gives very little information of historical importance. It gives the following account of the seven predecessors of Mahīpāla.

Lakṣmaṇa: It states that the first prince of the line was Lakṣmaṇa who is described as '*Kacchapaghāṭa vaṁśa tilaka*' and '*Kṣauṇīpati*' and an object of reverence for all princes. He is also said to have wielded his bow, promoted the welfare of his subjects and unaided like *Pṛthu* made the earth obedient to his will, and by his force extirpated even mighty princes.[3] Nothing definite of his political achievements is mentioned in this inscription.

Vajradāman: Vajradāman was the son of Lakṣmaṇa who is said to have defeated the then ruler of Gādhinagara and conquered the fort of *Gopādri*.[4] This prince seems to be of some importance. We have a small inscription incisd on the pedestal of the Jain image dated V.E. 1034, from Suhāniya near Gwalior, which gives the name *Śri Vajradāma Mahārājādhirāja*.[5] If this Vajradāman is identified with Vajradāman, the son of Lakṣmaṇa, as generally held by scholars we get fortunately the date of his reign as V.E. 1034.[6] The Gādhinagara of the inscription should be identified on the evidence of mythology with Kānyakubja (Kanauj).[7] The ruler

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[1] संवत्. ११५०

[2] ओम् नमः पद्मनाथाय।

[2] V. 5. आसीद्वंशोत्कृष्टेन्दुस्तनयो.....कच्छपघातवंशतिलकः क्षौणीपतिर्लक्ष्मणः etc.

[4] तस्मादजनि नृपः.....वज्रदामा नृपः.....गोपाद्रिदुर्गं.....निर्व्याजं परिभूय गाधिनगरार्जितप्रतापोदयं......

[5] P. C. Nāhar, *Jain Lekha-sangraha* II, p. 94, N. 1431.

[6] *DHNI.*, II, p. 823.

[7] Tripathi, Dr. R. S. *History of Kanauj*, p. 12.

of Kanauj at that time was the Pratīhāra Vijayapāla (c. 959 A.D.-988 A.D.).[1] It appears that by defeating him Vajradāman captured the fort of Gwalior. It, however, seems more probable that during the period of the weak rulers of the Pratīhāra dynasty, the Kacchapaghāṭas carved out their principality near about Gwalior. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* assumed by Vajradāman shows that he enjoyed sovereignty for some time. Since we know from the inscriptions of the Candellas that in Dhaṅga's reign (c. 954-1002 A.D.) their power reached up to the mountain called Gopagiri,[2] we may assume that Vajradāman must have accepted the suzerainty of his more powerful eastern neighbour. In this light the title *Mahārājādhirāja* of Vajradāman should not be regarded as inconsistent, for we know that in that period the feudatories also bore that title.[3]

Maṅgalarāja: Vajradāman was succeeded by Maṅgalarāja. He is said to have scattered his enemies as the thousand-rayed (sun) dispels darkness. As he ever offered worship to the Lord (Īśvara), so he was worshipped by thousands of great lords.[4] An undated Ukhā Mandir stone inscription at Bayānā near Bharatapur in Rājāsthān also refers to one Maṅgalarāja.[5] On the basis of the script of the record, the scholars assumed that Maṅgalarāja of the Ukhā mandir inscription is identical with this Maṅgalarāja of the Sāsabahū inscription.[6] The relationship of Mangalarāja with his predecessor is not mentioned in the inscription.

Kīrtirāja: Maṅgalarāja was succeeded by Kīrtirāja whose relationship with him is not indicated in the inscription. The record states that he "conquered in battle the countless hosts of the prince of Mālava. When he (Mālava prince) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitude of spears which through fear had fallen from the hands (of his soldiers) in every direction."[7] He is also credited as a builder of a wonderful temple of Śiva in the town of Siṁhapānīya.[8] Unfortunately no dated record of this prince has yet been discovered from that region.

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 276.

2 *EI.*, I, p. 129, V. 45.

3 Rajor stone inscription of Mathanadeva dated V. E. 1016 (A. D. 960); *EI.*, III, pp. 263 ff.

4 V. 8: ततोरिपुध्वान्तसहस्रधामा नृपोऽभवन्मंगलराजनामा।

5 *IA.*, XIV, pp. 9-10.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

7 Vs. 9-10: श्री कीर्तिराजो नृपतिस्ततोऽभूद्यस्य....मालवभूमिपस्य।

8 V. 11: अद्भुतः सिंहपानीयनगरे येन कारितः। ....प्रासादः पार्वतीपतेः।

Mūladeva: Kīrtirāja was succeeded by his son Mūladeva who is also called Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla.[1] His body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign.[2] No political events of his reign are recorded in this inscription.

Mūladeva was succeeded by Devapāla, his son from his queen Devabrata. Devapāla is also known as Aparājita. He is said to have surpassed Karṇa by his generosity, the son of Pārtha by his knowledge of the bow and Dharmarāja by his truthfulness.[3]

Padmapāla: Mūladeva was succeeded by his son Padamapāla who was like Māndhāta, the ornament of universal sovereigns. He waged wars in all quarters, his armies are said to have marched even to the southernmost point of India. It is said that during his reign he built a temple of Hari (*Viṣṇu*), who was named after him Padmanātha. He died young. "He when still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat on the lap of *Saṅkrandana* (Indra)," thus states the inscription.[4]

Mahīpāla: Mahīpāla succeeded Padmapāla. He is also known as Bhuvanaikamalla, who being described as son of Sūryapāla and *bhrātā* of Padmapāla, probably was a cousin of the latter. No political event of note is known about him from the inscription except that a prince of the Gandharvas was defeated by him in a war.[5] As the Sāsabahū inscription is dated V.E. 1150 (the temple at which it is put up was only completed immediately after his coronotion), we may suppose that the latter event took place not long before V.E. 1150 (A.D. 1093). Mahīpāla's minister was Gaura.[6]

The Dates from Kīrtirāja to Padmapāla: As we have no dated records from Kīrtirāja to Padmapāla, we may, however, assign some approximate dates to these princes on the basis of the Sāsabahū inscription. As the known date of Mahīpāla from the inscription is V.E. 1150 (A.D. 1093) and as he is the fourth in lineal descent from Kīrtirāja, if we assign for the sake of convenience 20 years for each of the kings and ten years for Padmapāla as he died young and some eight years to Mahīpāla before the inscription was actually dated, we may thus subtract 78 years from V.E. 1150 and would get V.E. 1072 (A.D. 1015) as the approximate date of

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[1] Vs. 12-13.

[2] V. 12.

[3] V. 14: पत्नी देवव्रता तस्य लक्ष्मीरिवाभवत्। तस्यां श्री देवपालोऽभूत्तनयः।

[4] Vs. 15-17.

[5] Vs. 31-67.

[6] यस्य गीर्वाणमन्त्री च गौरोऽभवत्।

Kīrtirāja. He, therefore, may be assigned to a period V.E. 1072-1092 (A.D. 1015-35) and thus he becomes a contemporary of the Candella Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.) and the Paramāra Bhoja (999-1055 A.D.). He is said to have defeated a Mālava king who may possibly be identified with king Bhoja. In the Dubkuṇḍa Jain inscription Bhoja is said to have surrendered to the Kacchapaghāta Abhimanyu.[1] We also know from the Candella inscription as well as the Dubkuṇḍa Jain inscription that the Kacchapaghāṭas were the feudatories of the Candellas,[2] and it is most probable that, with the assistance of the Candellas, they defeated the Paramāra king Bhoja. It is recorded in a Candella inscription that 'Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara, full of fear like a pupil[3] which certainly indicates here that Kīrtirāja, a contemporary of Vidyādhara, must have won battle against the powerful Mālava ruler, not without the assistance of his sovereign, the Candella king.

According to our suggestion the reign of Kīrtirāja's son Mūladeva may be assigned to the period from 1092 to 1112 V.E. (1035-55 A.D.). The statement that "his body was decorated with the auspicious marks of a universal sovereign," shows that he might have gained some sort of sovereignty during his period. We, however, have the ground to infer this fact. As it is generally supposed that the period between the reigns of Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.) and Kīrtivarman (1098 A.D.) is one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Candellas, during their weak rule, it is likely that Mūladeva must have gained independence by repudiating the suzerainty of the Candella.[4] His other two names, *viz.*, Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla, show him a man of power. His one name Trailokyamalla, most probably adopted after the imitation of the names of the kings belonging to the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi, shows some sort of contact between the two kings of the period.

Devapāla's period in the above way may also be assigned from V.E. 1112 to V.E. 1132 (A.D. 1055-1075) and the period of his son Padmapāla as calculated above would be from V.E. 1132 to 1142 (A.D. 1075-1085). The period of Padmapāla's successor Mahīpāla may have begun from V.E. 1142. We have a definite date of the commencement of his reign from the Sāsabahū inscription, that is, V.E. 1150 (1093 A.D.), when the temple of Hari (*Padmanāth*) was completed, and as a fragmentary Jain inscription from Gwalior, composed by the same Yaśodeva Nirgranthanātha, dated V.E. 1161

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1 See *infra* p. 78.

2 See *infra* p. 79.

3 *EI.*, I, pp. 219 and 222. V. 22.

4 *DHNI.*, II, pp. 694 ff.

informs us that Mahīpāla died some time before that date,[1] we may assign him a period from c. V.E. 1142 (A.D. 1085) to V.E. 1161, a period of 19 years. His second name Bhuvanaikamalla, like one borne by the princes of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi, further confirms our assumption that the Kacchapaghāṭas must have had some contact with the rulers of Kalyāṇi.

We, thus, have two inscriptions concerning his reign. both composed by the Jain author Yaśodeva. Many verses in the Sāsabahū inscription contain a fulsome praise of king Mahīpāla, a practice so common among Indian poets. The main object of the inscription is to record the completion of the half-finished temple of Hari by Mahīpāla soon after his coronation which he had promised to complete. Verses 71-102 mostly give the detailed list of the charitable institutions connected with the temple, the portions of his revenue devoted by him to the erection of the temple buildings. the idols that he gave to the shrines, the ornaments he presented to them. the arrangements he made and the implements he furnished for their worship.

Yaśodeva, the author of the inscription: The author says about himself that he is a *Digambarārka* (a sun among the Digambaras). who enjoys the friendship of the sage (*sūri*) Maṇikaṇṭha in which *Pratāpalaṅkeśvaravāc* shares and who is poet in all languages.[2] The inscription mentions that its letters were written by this poet who was well versed in all languages, and the praśasti was composed by Maṇikaṇṭha by order of the king.[3] I do not understand what is meant by these two statements. It is strange that the writer of the letters is a poet in all languages while the composer Maṇikaṇṭha seems to have been an ordinary poet, for, nothing is said of him in the inscription. In my opinion it seems more probable that Maṇikaṇṭha, while enjoying the patronage of king Mahīpāla and carrying out his order to compose a praśasti, may have given the ideas to the poet and the poet, on behalf of his friend Maṇikaṇṭha, may have composed it. or we may also assume that Maṇikaṇṭha himself attempted to compose it hurriedly at first and gave it to Yaśodeva for correction and improvement. Thus the real composer of the praśasti appears to be Yaśodeva.

The second inscription almost settles the date of the death of Mahīpāla. Stanza 23 records that this inscription was composed by Nirgranthanātha Yaśodeva. It has been found in the fortress of Gwalior and mentions the Kacchapaghāṭa princes from Bhuvanapāla (who is the fifth of

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[1] *IA.*, XV, pp. 201-202.

[2] प्रतापलंकेश्वर वाग्द्वितीयां बिभ्रत्सुहृत्त्वं मणिकण्ठसूरेः। अशेषभाषासुकविर्लिलेख वर्णान्यशोदेवदिगम्बरार्कः।

[3] नृपाज्ञया रचिता मणिकण्ठेन प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वला।

this branch) to Mahīpāla. The latter is said there as the *adhipati* of Gopālikera (probably the original form and the immediate source of the modern name Gwālior). The inscription is fragmentary. Verses 7-9 seem to refer to the death of Mahīpāla, and must have recorded the name of his successor; but unfortunately it is not found in the portion preserved. The object of this inscription is to record the setting up of a *liṅga* when 1161 years had elapsed from the reign of Vikramārka.[1]

We do not know of the successors of Mahīpāla from the Jain sources.

The Kacchapaghāṭas of Dubkuṇḍa: The history of the Dubkuṇḍa branch of the dynasty is also known from a Jain inscription. This inscription is a large one and was discovered in the ruins of a temple at Dubkuṇḍa in a dense forest on the left bank of the river Kunu, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwālior.[2] It consists of 61 lines in Saṁskṛt opening with *'Oṁ Oṁ Namo Vītarāgāya'* and 6 verses invoking the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras Ṛsabhanāth, Śāntināth, Candraprabha, Sanmati (Mahāvīra), sage Gotama and the goddess of Scripture (*Śrutadevatā*). The inscription is fortunately dated V.E. 1145 (A.D. 1088), in the reign of Vikramasiṁha. The object of the inscription is to record the grant made by Mahārājādhirāja Vikramasiṁha to a temple.

From the genealogy of Kacchapaghāṭas given in this inscription we know of the following kings:

Yuvarāja; his son Arjuna; his son Abhimanyu; his son Vijayapāla and his son Vikramasiṁha.

The record introduces them as follows:

> "There was an ornament of the Kacchapaghāṭa family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja, who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince (Bhūpati) Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bow-man who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth. Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea."[3]

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[1] *IA.*, XV, pp. 201-202.

[2] *EI.*, II, pp. 232–240.

[3] *EI.*, II, pp. 233, 237, lines 10-13: आसीत्कच्छपघातवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्यद्यशः ।
पाण्डु श्रीयुवराजसूनुरसमद्युद्भीमसेनानुगः ॥ [Contd]

"Having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious Abhimanyu valued other princes as lightly as a straw. Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?"[1]

These passages refer to the three important rulers, *i.e.*, Rājyapāla, Vidyādhara and Bhoja in connection with the three rulers of the dynasty respectively. The identification of Rājyapāla and Vidyādhara with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra (A.D. 1018) and Candella (A.D. 1019) princes of the same name is generally accepted.[2] It seems that the fame and prestige gained by Arjuna in destroying Rājyapāla, must have laid the foundations of his family's fortune. As he is called 'Bhūpati' he may have carved out a small principality round about the present Dubkuṇḍ on the river Kunu. This record also denotes that Arjuna was a feudatory of Vidyādhara[3] who is described by Ibnu'l-Athīr as the most powerful prince of his time.[4] It appears that the Dubkuṇḍa branch first grew into prominence under the great Candella Vidyādhara.

Bhoja of this record is generally identified with the Paramāra king of that name (c. 999-55 A.D.). As we know from the Candella inscription that

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[2] Contd.

श्रीमानर्जुनभूपतिः पतिरपामस्याप तत्तुल्यतां ।
यो गाम्भीर्यगुणेन निर्जितजग(द)न्नाथधनुर्विद्यया ॥
श्री विद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्री राज्यपालं हठात् ।
कण्ठास्थिच्छिदनेकबाणनिवहैर्हत्वा महत्याहवे ॥
डिण्डीरद्युतिचन्द्रमण्डलमिलन्मुक्ताकलापोज्ज्वलै-
स्त्रैलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योऽनन्तमापूरयत् ॥

[1] *Ibid.*, lines 17–19:

क्षुण्णिज्जयवतुर्गुणं त्रिजयिनोऽप्याजौ विजित्योर्जितं ।
जातोऽस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामन्यमानस्तृणम् ॥
यस्याद्भुतवाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु ।
प्रावीण्यं प्रविकत्थितं प्रथुमति श्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा ॥
छत्रालोकनमात्रजातभयतो क्षारिभङ्गप्रद-
स्यास्य स्याद्गुणवर्णनं त्रिभुवने को लब्धवर्णः प्रभुः ॥

[2] See *supra* pp. 45 and 66. Chap. on the Gurjara Pratihāras and Candellas.

[3] श्री विद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः ।

[4] *DHNI.*, I, p. 593; II, pp. 677-78.

'Bhoja was worshipping Vidyādhara full of fear like a pupil,'[1] it seems that he might have been under the command of Abhimanyu, whose father was a feudatory of the Candellas. Bhoja's defeat by Kīrtirāja of Gwālior branch of the Kacchapaghāṭa also confirms this fact.[2]

Nothing definite is stated about Abhimanyu's son Vijayapāla in the Dubkuṇḍa inscription.

Another Jain inscription called Bayānā Stone inscription refers to one Adhirāja Vijaya. This was discovered on a pilaster of a Jain temple, now used by Muslims as a mosque, in the town of Bayānā near Bharatapur, in Rājāsthān. It contains 18 lines, opening with *'Oṁ Oṁ Namaḥ Siddhebhyaḥ.'* It then records that in the kingdom of king Adhirāja Vijaya (line 5) in the city of Śrīpatha, there was a Jain teacher (sūri) named Maheśvara, a leader of the Śvetāṁbar belonging to the Kāmyaka gaccha, who occupied the seat of Viṣṇusūri. It records that Maheśvarasūri passed away when V.E. 1100 was drawing to its close. The praśasti was incised by Sādhu Sarvadeva in V.E. 1100 (A.D. 1043).[3]

Kielhorn had identified this Adhirāja Vijaya with the Kacchapaghāṭa prince of that name referred to in the Dubkuṇḍa inscription.[4] It thus denotes that the Bayānā region was conquered by this branch some time before 1044 A.D. from the Gwālior branch, one of whose inscriptions, dated in the reign of Maṅgalarāja (c. 955-1015 A.D.), was discovered in 'Ukhā mandīr' at Bayānā.[5]

Vijayapāla's son and successor was Vikramasiṁha. Nothing particular is recorded of him in the Dubkuṇḍa inscription.

From line 31 upto the end, the Dubkuṇḍa inscription is also important from the social and religious point of view. It gives the genealogy of Ṛṣi and Dāhaḍa, two Jain traders, on whom Vikramasiṁha had conferred the rank of Śreṣṭhins in the town Caḍobha (modern Dubkuṇḍa). The Śreṣṭhin Jāsuka, their grandfather, is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jayasapura. Lines 39-48 contain an account of some Jain sages belonging to the Lāṭavāgaṭa-gaṇa, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also induced the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. One

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1 *EI.*, I., pp. 219-222., V. 22.

2 See *supra* p. 75.

3 *IA.*, XIV, pp. 8-10. Lines 6-11 and 17-18.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

of these sages, the Guru Śāntiṣeṇa, teacher of Vijayakīrti, is said to have held a *sabhā* before king Bhojadeva and defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambaraṣeṇa and other learned men.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the Mahārājādhirāja Vikramasiṁha 'for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purpose of worship, assigned a tax of one viṁśopaka on each goṇī (of grain) and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahācakra, capable of being sown with four goṇīs of wheat,[1] and a garden with a well to the east of Rājakadraha; and that he also provided a certain amount of oil for lamps and for annointing the bodies of holy men.[2] The praśasti was written on stone by Udayarāja and engraved by the Śilākūṭa Tilhaṇa. The date V.E. 1145 (A.D. 1088) comes in the last line.

It seems that Vikramasiṁha was the last prince of this branch. No successor is known of him from any source.

The members of the Kacchapaghāṭas from the Jain sources are the following:

The Gwalior Branch

(c. 950-1100 A.D.)

Lakṣmaṇa (950-75)
|
Vajradāman (c 975-95)
|
Maṅgalarāja (c. 995-1015)
|
Kīrtirāja (c. 1015-35)
|
Mūladeva *alias* Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyapāla (c. 1035-55)
|
Devapāla (c. 1055-75)
|
Padmapāla (c. 1075-80)
|
Mahīpāla *alias* Bhuvanaikamalla (c. 1080-1100)

The Dubkuṇḍa Branch

(c. 1000-1100 A.D.)

Yuvarāja (c. 1000)
|
Arjuna (c. 1015-35 A.D.)
|
Abhimanyu (c. 1035-44 A.D.)
|
Vijayapāla (c. 1044-70)
|
Vikramasiṁha (c. 1070-1100)

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[1] गोणीं प्रति विंशोपकं गोधूमगोणीचतुष्टयवापयोग्यक्षेत्रं च महाचक्रग्रामभूमौ राजकद्रहपूर्वदिग्भाग-वाटिकां वापिसमन्वितां।

[2] प्रदीपमुनिजनशरीराभ्यंजनार्थं कर्षघटिकाद्वयं च दत्तवान्।

III. THE KALACŪRIS OF DĀHALA

The Kalacūri is an important branch of the Haihayas, a very ancient race, which traces its origin from Sahasrārjuna.[1] They have been referred to in the epigraphs from the sixth century A.D. down to the 15th century. Their early capital was at Māndhātā,[2] which later came to be known as Māhiṣmatī.

The earliest reference to the Kalacūris during our period is found in the Jain inscription of Ravikīrti from Aihole[3] (634 A.D.), wherein it is stated *that the Cālukya king Maṅgaleśa defeated them in the course of an expedi*tion to the north. It seems that at that time the pressure of their power was felt in the Deccan. But during the later period, they extended their sway farther to the north upto the Tarāi and it became possible only after the gradual decline and downfall of the Gurjara Pratīhāras.

Gāṅgeyadeva: We learn from the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* that Gāṅgeya Kumāra, a prominent ruler of the dynasty, is called lord of Vārāṇasī (*Vārāṇasīpati*) whose reign is generally assigned from c. 1019 A.D. to 1041 A.D.[4]

It is known from the history of the dynasty that Gāṅgeyadeva was a powerful monarch of the Dāhala branch of Kalacūris. The Piawān rock inscription shows that Gāṅgeyadeva succeeded his father named Kokalla II as a king of Dāhala,[5] and supports the extension of his power upto the Gaṅgā in the north. The fact that Vārānasī was in possession of Gāṅga (Gāṅgeya) is remarkably confirmed by the Moslem historians. Abu Baihaqi tells us in his work, the *Tarikh-i-Subuktigīn*, that when Ahmed Niyaltigīn, (c. 1030-40 A.D.) invaded Banaras (c. 1034 A.D.), that city belonged to the territory of Gāṅga.[6]

The increasing power of Gāṅgeyadeva caused much anxiety to the contemporary king Paramāra Bhoja. The *Bhoja-Gāṅgeya-prabandha* of the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* refers to a defeat of Gāṅgeyadeva at the hands of king Bhoja. It states that once Gāṅgeyadeva of Vārāṇasī invaded

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[1] *DV.*, Canto IX, V. 39 *records that Puranic version*: तन्यतेऽर्जुनवंशश्रीर्यशोब्धिध्वापतायते।

[2] *DHNI.*, II, pp. 738-39.

[3] *EI.*, VI, p. 2: अवाप्तवान्यो रणरंगमन्दिरे कटच्चुरि श्रीललनापरिग्रहम्।

[4] *SJGM.*, II, p. 20: भोजगांगेययोः प्रबन्धः।

[5] *ASR.*, XXI, pp. 112-13 and plate XXVIII.

[6] *DHNI.*, II, p. 773.

Bhoja, lord of Mālava, with huge army. Bhoja also offered a good defence. But through certain diplomatic tactics, Bhoja found the way and assaulted Gāṅgeya. Gāṅgeya was captured and taken away to Dhārā.[1] This statement of the Jain chroniclers is strikingly confirmed by the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana which refers to the fact that (the Paramāra king) Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgeya (*Gāṅgeya-bhaṅgotsava*). Hultzsch rightly identified this prince with the Kalacūri Gāṅgeya of Tripurī.[1]

Lakṣmīkarṇa: Gāṅgeyadeva was succeeded by his son Karṇa, born from queen Dematī.[2] He is also known as Lakṣmīkarṇa.[3] The names of his two immediate successors, Yaśaḥkarṇa and Gayākarṇa, perhaps, show that Lakṣmīkarṇa was his real name. But in records he is introduced by the shortened form Karṇa.

The Jain chroniclers depict him as one of the greatest Indian conquerors. He maintained and perhaps enhanced the glory of his kingdom inherited from his father. The following description of this prince is given by Forbes, a foremost historian of Gujarāta, whose most of the accounts are based on the statements of the Jain chroniclers.

> "At that time the Rājā, named Kurun, reigned in Dahul Land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kāshee or Banaras. He was the son of Queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus-feet of Kurun."
>
> In the same context, the author of *Rāsamālā* records the tradition that "envious of the fame of the lord of Oojain, Kurun prepared to attack Bhoja[5] and in that connection arranged an interview with Bheemadeva at a frontier village, and procured from him a promise that he would make a diversion by attacking Mālava from the west.[6] Bhoja associated

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[1] *PPS.*, p. 20: एकदा वाराणसीपतिः ... श्रीगांगेयकुमारो ... एवं सामग्र्या मालवपतिभोजं प्रति चचाल ... नृपः सज्जीभूय गांगेयसैन्ये पपात ... गजमविरोध्य धारायामानीतः।

[2] *DHNI.*, II, p. 774.

[3] *PC.*, p. 49: डाहलदेशीयराज्ञो राज्ञी देमतिनाम्नी महायोगिनी। सा ... लग्ने कर्णनामानं सुतमसूत।

[4] *EI.*, I. p. 222, V. 26 of a Candella inscription from Mahoba.

[5] Cf. श्रीकर्णस्तावद्भिरेव नृपैः समं प्रस्थितः श्री भोजमभ्यषेणयत् *PC.*, p. 51.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 51: यस्मिन्नवसरे श्री भोजराज्यार्द्धं प्रतिश्रुत्य मालवके मण्डलपार्ष्णिग्राहाय निस्सीमतर्दायर्नामनगरे श्री कर्णः श्री भीममजूहवत्।

> with the two kings and unable from indisposition to take the field against them, contented himself with occupying by his troops the mountain passes leading into his country.[1] Dāmara was at this time employed by his sovereign as his representative in the camp of Rājā Kurun.[2] Bheema dispatched a messenger to Dāmara for intelligence and the ambassador taught him a verse which he repeated on his return to the king of Goozarat: "The fruit on the mango tree is fully ripened, the stalk has become loosened, with much wind the bough shakes, the end I know not."[3] When Bheema heard this verse he determined upon remaining inactive. Then Forbes records that "having informed of the death of Bhoja, Kurun Rājā advanced upon Dhār, which he destroyed taking possession of the Royal treasury."

Then we learn from the same narrative that Bhīma's minister Dāmara imprisoned Karṇa for some time in order to realise the booty. Karna then arranged to give him one golden canopy and the revenue of the temple of Lord Śiva.[4] The Jain monk Hemacandra states that Bhīma I made an incursion on Karṇa of Cedi, but Karṇa offered the golden canopy which was the bloomed fame (*Saṁfulla-kīrti*) of Bhoja to him, made an alliance with him.[5]

The fact that Bhoja was jointly attacked by the kings of Gurjara, Kalacūris and Karnāṭa is also supported by the Nāgpur Stone inscription of the Paramāras.[6]

Gayākarṇa: Lakṣmīkarṇa was succeeded by his son Yaśaḥkarṇa about whom we have no account in Jain sources. He was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇa. Regarding this king also we have nothing to say except that

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[1] Cf: *Ibid.*, p. 51: अथ ताभ्यां नरेन्द्राभ्यां मन्त्रेणाक्रान्तो व्याल इव भोजभूपालो विगलितदर्पविषो बभूव।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51: श्री भीमःकर्णाभ्यर्णवर्त्तिनं निजसान्धिविग्रहिकं दामरं भोजवृत्तान्तज्ञानाय स्वपुरुषेण पप्रच्छ।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 51: अम्बयफलं सुपक्कं विण्टं सिढिलं समुब्भडो पवणो।
साहामछुणसीला न याणिमो कज्जपरिणामो॥

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52: भोजे राज्ञि दिवंगतेऽतिबलिना कर्णेन धारापुरी-
भंगं सूत्रयतोपरुध्य नृपतिर्भीमः सहायीकृतः॥
तद्भृत्येन च दामरेण जगृहे वन्दीकृतात्कर्णतो।
हैमी मण्डपिका गणाधिपयुतः श्रीनीलकण्ठेश्वरः॥

[5] *DV.*, Vs. 1-57: IX सम्फुल्लकीर्त्तिं भोजस्य स्वर्णमण्डपिकामिमाम्।
श्रीवासोत्फुल्लपद्माभां हरस्परि कृशश्रियम्॥

[6] *EI.*, pp. 185, 192, V. 32.

there is an anecdote which relates an attack on Gujarāta by a Karṇa in the time of Kumārapāla. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga tells us:

> "Once when the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Aṇahilapāṭaka was going on a pilgrimage, he was informed by a couple of messengers (Yugalikā), who came from a foreign country that Karṇa, king of Ḍāhala, was marching against him.[1] His forehead was beaded with drops or perspiration, and he abandoned, out of fear, his desire of being head of the congregation, and came with the minister Vāgbhaṭa and blamed himself at the feet of Hemacandra. The story runs that the Jain sage assured his disciple that in the 12th watch from this time your mind will be relieved. At the appointed time Kumārapāla was informed that 'Karṇa had gone to heaven'.[2] Karṇa, we are told, was making a march at night, seated on an elephant, and allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and while he was in this state, a gold chain that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan tree, and hanged him, and so he died."

Since the reign of Kumārapāla ranged between c. 1144-73 A.D., his contemporary king of Ḍāhala referred to as Karṇa must be Gayākarṇa. As regards the details of the story we should not place any reliance without independent corroboration. This much we may infer from the story that Gayākarṇa might have started this attack in his old age and before reaching his destiny he collapsed.

We know nothing about his successors from the Jain sources.

Thus Gāṅgeya, Lakṣmīkarṇa, and Gayākarṇa, the only three kings of the dynasty, are known from the Jain sources of our period.

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[1] *PC.*, pp. 92, 93: त्वां प्रति डाहलदेशीयकर्णनृपतिरेति....

[2] *Ibid.*: समागतयुगलिकाभ्यां श्रीकर्णो दिवंगत इति विज्ञप्तः।

—(कुमारपालादि प्रबन्धे तीर्थयात्रा प्रबन्धः)

CHAPTER VI

THE DYNASTIES OF CENTRAL INDIA (continued)

THE PARAMĀRAS.

After the decline of the Gurjara Pratīhāra power started and before the throne of Kanauj was occupied by the kings of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, the political power in Avanti shifted into the hands of the Paramāra kings. We know that the region of Mālava was for a long time a veritable bone of contention between the Pratīhāras and their inveterate enemies, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, who conquered it during the northward incursion of Dhruva Nirupama, Govinda III, Indra III and Kṛṣṇa III. None of them could, however, hold Ujjain permanently. We know from the Pıatāpagarh inscription that upto V.E. 1003 (946 A.D.) the territory of Mālava was under the control of the Pratīhāra rulers. Afteı this it seems that the sway of the Pratīhāras totally disappeared from Mālava and Western India.

Their hold ovcı Mālava: The first recorded date of the Paramāra rulers is obtained from the Harasola copper plates grant, wherein Sīyaka, the father and predecessor of Vākapati II, is described as ruling over that region in V.E. 1005 (949 A.D.). The last date for Sīyaka is V.E. 1029 as known from the Jain Dhanapāla's *Pāiyalacchī-kośa,* wherein it is stated that Dhanapāla prepared the work in V.E. 1029 when Mānyakheṭa was looted by the king of Mālava.[1] This fact is corroborated by that of the Udayapur (Gwalior) praśasti[2] wherefrom we know that this king of Mālava was no other than Sīyaka, as it is stated there in verse No. 12 that Sīyaka took away the wealth of king Khoṭṭiga of Mānyakheṭa. Since the period from 949 to 972 A.D. assigned to Sīyaka is regarded as a period of the decadence of the Pratīhāra monarchy, it seems that Sīyaka availed of the favourable chances during this period to increase his poweı by occupying the province of Mālava.

Oıigin: The Jain poet Dhanapāla, who was one of the court poets of king Muñja and his successors, tracing out the genealogy of the Paramāras, states:

'The Gurjaras of the mountain Ābū still sing the glory of the king

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[1] V. 276: विक्कमकालस्य गये अउणुत्तीसुत्तरे सहस्सम्मि।
माळवणरिन्दधाणीए लूडिए मण्णखेडम्मि॥

[2] *EI.*, I., p. 234 ff.

Paramāra who sprang from the fire-pit of the sage Vaśiṣṭha. who was defeated by Viśvāmitra'.[1]

This, the then prevalent mythological version of Paramāra origin, is also attested by the Udayapur praśasti, wherein in Vs. 5-6 it is stated that once Viśvāmitra robbed the cow of the sage Vaśiṣṭha. This action enraged the sage and then. out of his supernatural power. he created a man from his sacrificial pit, who later on killed (*māra*) the foes (*parān*) and got back the cow.[2] This fact is also corroborated by the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* of the poet Padmagupta (Parimala)[3] and from various bardic and epigraphic traditions, which agree in tracing the origin of the Paramāras from a fire-pit on Mt. Abu. European and Indian scholars have interpreted this myth to mean that the Paramāras belonged to the Hūṇa Gurjara stocks and after the performance of some fire ceremony. they became fit to be admitted into the Hindu caste-system.

But the discovery of the Harasola copper plates[4] sets aside this speculation. The earliest records which contain the reference to the fire-pit-origin, mostly belong to about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., while the Harasola copper plates are nearly a century older and do not refer to this origin. On the contrary they plainly state that Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja I) was descended from the family (*kula*) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III). From this it can be concluded that the Paramāras were members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race and they originally belonged to the Deccan.

A question naturally arises here: what was the motive in hiding or omitting the descent from such an illustrious race? The answer to this question is not wanting in history and certain indirect references from the Jain sources throw light on this point. One Jain inscription from Śravaṇa Belagola of the time of the Gaṅga prince Mārasiṁha, dated the Śaka year 896 (974 A.D.), informs us that he (Mārasiṁha) conquered the northern regions for Kṛṣṇa III and thereby acquired the title of the king of Gujarāta.[5]

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[1] *Tilakamañjarī*, V. 39: वाशिष्ठैः स्म कृतस्मयो वरशतैरस्त्यग्निकुण्डोद्भवो।
भूपालः परमार इत्यभिधया ख्यातो महीमण्डले॥
अद्याप्युद्गतहर्षगद्गदगिरो गायन्ति यस्यार्बुदे।
विश्वामित्रजयोज्झितस्य भुजयोर्विस्फूर्जितं गुर्जराः॥

[2] *EI.*, I., p. 234.

[2] I., V. 8.

[4] *PTOC.* (Madras), 1924, pp. 303-08; *EI.*, XIX, pp. 236 ff.

[5] *EI.*, V, p. 179: कृष्णराजोत्तरदिग्विजयविजितगुर्जराधिराजस्य।
See also *Jain Śilālekha Saṅgraha*, Pt. I, Ed. by Dr. H.L. Jain, p. 17.

The Holkari inscriptions No. 23 and 33 dated 968 and 965 A.D. respectively, refer to two Mārasiṁha's captains, Sudrakayya and Goggiyamma, as *Ujjayinī-bhupaṅgas*.[1] We know from the Harasola inscription that the north Gujarāta and Mālava were ruled by Sīyaka Paramāra during this period. It seems that formerly he was appointed by Kṛṣṇa III to rule those provinces but, due to certain favourable circumstances he thought to become independent. The above references indicate that Kṛṣna III had led an expedition to suppress Sīyaka. Thus an intense hostility was roused and we learn from the *Pāiyalacchī* of Dhanapāla that (in retaliation) Sīyaka sacked the city of Mānyakheṭa and looted the wealth (of Khoṭṭiga, the successor of Kṛṣṇa III).[2]

It seems now plausible that the consequent hostility between the two families and other subsequent wars between them in later times which created bitterness and disgust, may be regarded as the supreme reason for suppressing the origin from the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[3]

We find the Paramāra families ruling over various regions of Western India but from the Jain sources we know only of the Paramāras of Mālava, Arbuda, Bānswārā, and Kirāḍu. They will be described in different chapters according to their regions.

PARAMĀRAS OF MĀLAVA

From Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī* as well as from the literary and epigraphic sources of the Paramāras we learn that an eponymous Paramāra was the first man of the dynasty but from Harasola plates, Bapparāja appears to be the historical person.

The *Tilakamañjarī* mentions Vairisiṁha (II) as the first historical personage. Speaking about him the poet Dhanapāla says: "he was a *paraśu* to cut the creeper in the form drawing lines upon the check of the wives of the enemies and was like a wall of shoıe of four-seas to break the teeth of strong military elephants."[4] Then he states that Vairisiṁha was succeeded by his son Śrīharṣa or Sīyaka who was the abode of Śrī.[5]

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[1] *EI.*, XIX, p. 287.

[2] V. 276: मालत्रणरिन्दधाणीए लूडिए मण्णखेडम्मि।

[3] *DHNI.*, Pt. II, p. 842.

[4] *Kāvyamālā*, LXXXV, p. 5, V. 40:

तस्मिन्नभूद्रिपुकलत्रकपोलपत्र। वल्लीवितानपरशुपरमारवंशः॥
श्रीवैरिसिंह इति दुर्धर सैन्यदन्ति। दन्ताग्रभिन्न चतुर्णवकूलभित्तिः॥

[5] *Ibid.*, V. 41: तत्राभूद्वसतिः श्रियामपरया श्रीहर्ष इत्याख्यया .... भूपः खर्वितवैरिगर्वमहिमा श्री सीयकः।

Sīyaka begot two sons, first Vākpatirāja alias Muñja and second Sindhurāja.[1] Speaking of Vākpatirāja the poet says that he was the first among the heroes and through the prowess of his bow he had measured all the four parts of the world. About Sindhurāja he states that he was a man of great fame, a leader of heroes and a lion for the line of rutting elephants of Indra.[2] Sindhurāja had a son named Bhoja whose feet were full of auspicious signs and whom considering affectionately very fit for the abode of majesty, the king Vākpatirāja alias Muñja annointed on the throne."[3] Dhanapāla was a prominent poet. He lived at the court of king Bhoja and for the gratification of the king he composed a romance entitled *Tilakamañjarī*.[4] The poet speaking about himself says that he was honoured in the court by king Muñja who conferred on him the title '*Sarasvatī*.'[5] The two Jain inscriptions, the one found in the Lūṇiga temple dated V.E. 1287 and the other found in the Vimal temple dated V.E. 1378 (which also records the event of V.E. 1080), both at the Mt. Ābū, supply us the genealogy of the Paramāras of Arbuda.[6] Having referred to the eponymous Paramāra in the same manner as described above, the one records Dhūmarāja as the original and remote member of the branch and the other states Kānhaḍadeva (Kṛṣṇadeva). In the opinion of scholars both are the names of the same king, Dhūma and Kṛṣṇa being synonyms. They also assume that this Kānhaḍadeva or Dhūmarāja may be Kṛṣṇarāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants. If this assumption is right, we have one more though a remote member of this branch from the Jain sources.

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[1] *Ibid.*, V. 42: तस्य....सूनुः। सिंहो....श्री सिन्धुराजोऽभवत्। श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेव नृपतिर्वीराग्रणीरग्रजः।

[2] V. 42: तस्योदग्रयशः समस्तसुभटग्रामाग्रगामी सुतः। सिंहोदुर्द्धरशक्रसिन्धुरततेः श्री सिन्धुराजोऽभवत्। एकाधिज्यचतुर्जिताब्धिवलयाविच्छिन्नमूर्वस्य सः। श्रीमद्वाक्पति राजदेवनृपतिर्वीराग्रणीरग्रजः।

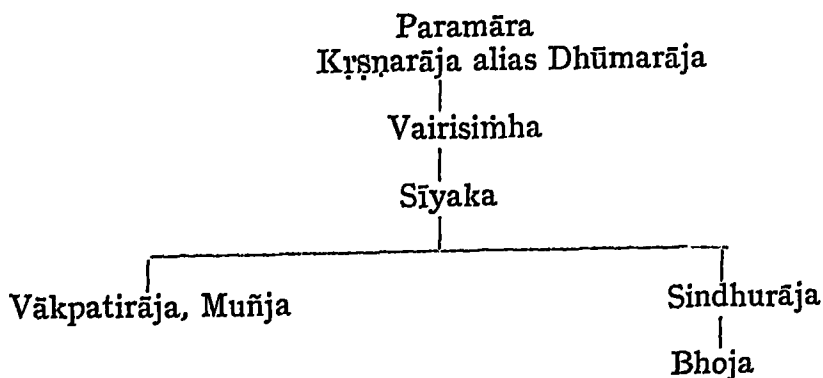
[3] V. 43: आकीर्णाङ्घ्रितलः सरोजकलशच्छत्रादिभिर्लाञ्छनैः।
तस्याजायतमांसलायतभुजः श्री भोजइत्यात्मजः।
प्रीत्या योग्य इति प्रतापवसतिः ख्यातेन मुञ्जाख्यया।
यः स्वे वाक्पतिराजभूमिपतिना राज्येऽभिषिक्तः स्वयम्॥

[4] V. 50: निःशेषवाङ्मयविदोऽपि जिनागमोक्ताः श्रोतुं कथाः समुपजातकुतूहलस्य।
तस्यावदातचरितस्य विनोदहेतोः राज्ञः स्फुटाद्भुतरसा रचिता कथेयम्॥

[5] V. 53: ....सर्वविद्याब्धिना।
श्रीमुञ्जेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभृता व्याहृतः॥

[6] *Arbuda Pra. Jain-Lekha*, Pt. II., pp. 2, 99. see also *EI.*, VIII, pp. 200-04, 208-19; and IX, pp. 151, 155-56.

All this is the Jain account regarding the genealogy of the Paramāras. According to the other literary and epigraphic sources Upendrarāja alias Kṛṣṇarāja; then Vairisiṁha I; then Sīyaka I; then Vākpatirāja I alias Bappairāja appear to be the personages before Vairisiṁha of the Jain account. Upendrarāja alias Kṛṣṇarāja is the same as Dhūmarāja or Kānhaḍadeva of the Jain inscription. It seems, however, that Vairisiṁha and his successors Sīyaka and Muñja etc., were more important figures than the other predecessors. That is why they have been recorded by all.

The revised genealogy of the Paramāras according to the Jain sources from the first member upto Bhoja is thus arranged:

Sīyaka: We do not know much of Vairisiṁha and his activities except what is reported of him in the *Tilakamañjarī*. His son Sīyaka seems to be a more powerful ruler than his father and to him are attributed all the merits of raising the glory of the newly founded dynasty. He is said to have defeated all the adversaries who opposed him in his war of independence, and threw up the yoke of his sovereign Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We have seen above that according to *Pāiyalacchī* he sacked and plundered Mānyakheṭa, the capital city of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in retaliation.[1]

According to Bühler he was also known as Siṁhabhaṭa in Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. The various recensions of *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* suggest that he was also known as Siṁhadantabhaṭa and Śrīharṣa. In the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* he is called as Siṁha.[2] Bühler assumed that the complete name probably was Harṣasiṁha (Harakhsiṁha).[3] The *Tilakamañjarī* retains Śrīharṣa and Śrī Sīyaka as the names of Sīyaka. Philologically Sīyaka appears to be a half Prākṛtic corruption of Siṁhaka.

[1] See *supra* p. 87.
[2] *SJGM.*, II, p. 13.
[3] *EI.*, I., p. 225.

The Harasola plates give him an earliest date as V.E. 1005 or 949 A.D. and describe him as Mahāmāṇḍalika, which means he was a feudatory chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[1] His date, supplied by *Pāiyalacchī*, is as V.E. 1029,[2] the year when the poet Dhanapāla composed his work for his sister Sundarī and when Mānyakheṭa was sacked and looted by the Mālava king. All this shows that he reigned for about twenty-five years.

Vākpati Muñja: The earliest known date of Sīyaka's successor Vākpati II from his inscription is V.E. 1031[3] (c. 975 A.D.). There is a long and interesting story regarding Muñja in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, which is as follows:—

> "Long ago in the very country of Mālava a king named Siṁhabhaṭa of the race of Paramāra, as he was roaming about on his royal circuit, saw in the midst of a thicket of reeds a certain male child of exceeding beauty that had been just born. He took it up as lovingly as if it were his own son and made it over to his queen. The child was named Muñja with reference to his origin. After that, a son was born to the king named Sindhala."[4] It is further narrated that having been attracted by the good qualities of Muñja, Siṁhabhaṭa did not lessen his love towards him and decided to bestow his kingdom on him. Accordingly Muñja was enthroned and he conquered the earth by his valour. Then he entrusted the rein of kingdom to his minister named Rudrāditya and enjoyed for a long time pleasure. His step-brother, Sindhala, once disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him; Sindhala came to Gujarāta. There he contacted with a ghost and with his help he in a peculiar way acquired a district from king Muñja which brought him much revenue. But again he showed his haughtiness, for which he had his eyes put out by Muñja and was confined to a wooden cage. He begot a son named Bhoja. Bhoja studied all the sciences of Statecraft. When king Muñja learnt from the horoscope of Bhoja that he would inherit the kingdom depriving his son he ordered secretly to execute Bhoja. But Bhoja managed to escape from the gallows of his executioners and subsequently sent a stanza to the king through the executioners, upon reading which the king regretted much. There-

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[1] See *supra* p. 85.
[2] See *supra* p. 85.
[3] *IA.*, VI, pp. 48-53.
[4] *PC.*, Tr. Tawney, p. 30.

after Bhoja was brought before the presence of the king Muñja and he honoured him with the dignity of a crown prince.[1]

A similar story with certain variations is recorded in the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* also.[2] Strangely enough it also finds a place in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* of Abul-Fazal.[3]

Though the whole story cannot be accepted as historical, yet it contains some useful materials. This story attempts to explain the name of Muñja with reference to an event which seems a mere myth. Sindhurāja, from this story, seems to be a step-brother of Muñja. The name of his minister Rudrāditya is corroborated from other sources and he seems to be an historical figure. In the early stages of Muñja's career, his relations with his brother do not seem to have been cordial. It is recorded that Muñja had a son who was destined to be deprived of the throne by Bhoja. But being pleased with his merits, Muñja appointed him as an heir apparent. Regarding his son we have no information from any other sources. Muñja is depicted here as a sensualist also.

The contemporary account of the *Tilakamañjarī* simply states that Sīyaka was succeeded by his son Vākpatirāja whose younger brother was Śrī Sindhurāja or Sindhala who had a son named Bhoja. Since Vākpati begot no son, he having found Bhoja fit to rule over his kingdom, annointed him as his heir apparent.[4]

Vākpati Muñja was a great warrior. Certain literary sources as well as epigraphic evidences may be adduced in support of his gallantry. A Jain inscription from Hathuṇḍ known as Bījāpur Stone inscription of Northern Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala, informs us that Muñjarāja fought with Mūlarāja Cāulukya (A.D. 961-96), Dhavala (Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Hathuṇḍi, c. 980 A.D.) and Śaktikumāra, Guhila prince of Mewar (c. 977 A.D.). It states that Mūlarāja, like the ruler of Marwar, had to flee before Muñja like a timid deer. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala claims that he gave shelter to the armies of the king of Mewar and of the lord of the Gūrjaras when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāta, the pride of Medapāta.[5] Another Jain inscription, namely, Sundhā hill inscription of the Cāhamāna Cāciga refers

[1] *PC.*, pp. 4-25 : मुञ्जराजप्रबन्धः ।

[2] *SJGM.*, II, p. 13 : मुञ्जराजप्रबन्धः ।

[3] *AAK.*, II, p. 215, but the name of Muñja's foster-father is given as 'Bijainand'.

[4] See *supra* p. 88.

[5] *EI.*, X, pp. 17 ff., V. 10.

to Balirāja, one of his predecessors, as one who defeated an army of Muñjarāja.[1] It seems that Muñjarāja extended his sway over some parts of Marwar.

Merutuṅga records his last campaign of Southern India in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, where he met his tragic end, as follows:—

> "As the king of the Telinga country, named Tailapadeva, harassed Muñja, by sending raiders into his country, he determined to march against him, though his prime-minister (mahāmātya) Rudrāditya, who was seized with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him. The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition, and not to advance beyond it; but he looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had defeated him six times before. In his overweening confidence he crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side. When Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he augured that some mischief would result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral pile. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces and took king Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed (*Muñja*). He was put in the prison and confined in a cage of wood and waited upon by Tailapa's sister Mṛṇālavatī with whom he formed a marriage-union. His ministers, who had arrived subsequently dug a tunnel to the place where he was imprisoned, and made an appointment with him." The story next proceeds to relate that "Muñja urged by his love to Mṛṇālavatī revealed his plans to her, and the latter betrayed them to her brother. As a result of this, Tailapa had him bound with cords and taken about to beg from house to house for his food. Then the king had Muñja put to death and his head fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace and by keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, he gratified his anger."[2]

Historically this story is certainly important but not in its full details. In the first place, it relates that Vākpati waged wars for a long time and was killed by Tailapa II, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa. This fact is confirmed by the two records of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1055-1126 A.D.) wherein it is stated that Taila II killed the valiant Muñja.[3] The *Āin-i-Akbarī* also records the tradition that Muñja lost his life in the wars of the Deccan. In

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[1] *EI.*, IX, pp. 70 ff.

[2] *PC.*, Tr. by Tawney, pp. 33-36.

[3] *IA.*, XXI, pp. 167-68.

the second place, it refers to the fact that Vākpati had really a minister named Rudrāditya. This also finds support from his Ujjain grant of 980 A.D.[1] Dr. Bühler has pointed out the date of this event with the help of a colophon of the Jain Amitagati's *Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha,* which relates that it was composed during the reign of Muñja in V.E. 1050 (A.D. 993-94),[2] and Tailapa II died shortly before or actually in the Śaka year 919, *i.e.,* 997-998 A.D., which is the first year of his successor. The death of Muñja, therefore, must have taken place in one of the three years, 994-996 A.D. We have seen above that the earliest known date of Sīyaka's successor Vākpati (II) is V.E. 1031 (974 A.D.). It appears, therefore, that he must have ruled about twenty-two years.

So far as his romantic career is concerned we have several verses in Apabhraṁśa composed soon after his death and preserved in the Jain prabandhas which confirm the fact. Perhaps they are taken from an Apabhraṁśa work *Muñjarāsa* which is believed to have belonged to the eleventh century. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states:

> "During this stage of his life, he was devoted to a certain lady and he used to mount a camel named Girikalla and travel twelve yojanas and return in the night. Later, his passion cooled down and she sent him a message thus: "Muñja, the rope has fallen; fool, you do not see it. The clouds of Āṣāḍha are roaring, the ground will now be slimy."[3]

It has already been pointed out that Muñja while he was in the prison, fell in love with Tailapa's widow sister, Mṛṇālavatī. When both were looking in a mirror, the elderly widow desponded on account of her wrinkled face. Upon this Muñja said, "Mṛṇālavatī, do not weep over departed youth. Sugar-candy, even if broken into a thousand pieces, will taste sweet."[4]

Later on he mourns much over his fallen fortune. He says: "I have lost my elephants and chariots, I have lost my horses; I have lost my

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[1] *IA.,* XIV, pp. 159-161.

[2] V. 922: समारूढे पूतत्रिदशवसति विक्रमनृपे, सहस्रे वर्षाणां प्रभवति हि पंचाशदधिके।
समाप्ते पञ्चम्यामवति धरणीं मुञ्जनृपतौ, सिते पक्षे पौषे बुधहितमिदं शास्त्रमनघम्॥

[3] *SJGM,* I, p. 21, in fn.: चिरं सुखमनुभवन् कस्यामपि योषित्यनुरक्तश्चिक्खिल्लाभिधकरभमधिरुह्य योजिनीं निशि प्रयाति प्रत्यायाति च। तया समं विश्लेषे जाते इमं दोधकमप्रैषीत्—
मुञ्जपडल्ला दोरडी पेक्खिसि न गमारि। आसढि घण गज्जीइं चिक्खिलिहोसे अवारि।

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 23: मुञ्जु भणइ मुणालवइ जुव्वणु गयऊं न झूरि।
जइ सक्कर सयखण्ड थिय तोई स मींठी चूरि।

footmen, servants have I none. So, Rudrāditya sitting in heaven, invites me eagerly to join him."[1]

When Mṛṇālavatī offered alms to Muñja he says, "Mṛṇālavatī, if wisdom after the event is the same as before it, no one would be overcome by calamity."[2] Mṛṇālavatī replies, "When luck turned, even the ten-headed king (Rāvaṇa), the master of seas and the lord of the forts of Laṅkā, was destroyed. Therefore, Muñja, do not grieve."[3]

Vākpati Muñja was not a mere ruler and gay lover. Several Saṁskṛt, Prākṛt, and Apabhraṁśa verses ascribed to him are preserved in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and in the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha*. Some of these verses are regarded as belonging to the old forms of modern Hindi.[4] He also liberally patronised men of letters. He honoured them with various titles. The *Tilakamañjarī* informs us that its author Dhanapāla was conferred a title 'Sarasvatī' by the king 'Śrī Muñja' in his court.[5] The *Prabhāvaka-carita* refers to Dhanapāla as the adopted son of Muñja (*Śrī Muñjasya prati-pannasutaḥ*). Dhanapāla who was the author of the *Paiyalacchī*, and the *Tilakamañjarī*, Amitagati, the author of the *Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha* and various works, Padmagupta, the author of the *Nava Sāhasāṅka-carita*, Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpaka*, his brother Dhanika, the author of *Daśarūpāvaloka*, Halāyudha, the commentator on Piṅgala's work on metrics, were among the jewels that adorned the court of Vākpati Muñja. Moreover, Ujjaini attracted the best scholars of the country and from that time onward, it became the centre of learning. When Muñja was to be executed, he was asked to call in mind his favourite god. He mournfully recited a verse:

> "Lakṣmī will return to Govinda, Vīraśrī to the house of the heroes; but now that Muñja is no more the storehouse of Fame, Goddess of learning will be without support."[6]

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[1] *SJGM*, I, p. 23: गय गय रह् गय तुरय गय पायक्कडानि भिच्च।
मग्गट्ठिय करि मन्तणउं मुहुंता रुद्दाइच्च॥

[2] *SJGM*, I, p. 24: सायरखाइलंकगढ वाढवड दसगिरराहु।
भग्ग खइ सो भज्जि गउ मुञ्ज म करसि विसाउ॥

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23, V. 34: जामति पच्छइ सम्पज्जइ सा मति पहिली होइ।
मुंज भणइ मुणालवइ विघन वेढ़इ कोइ॥

[4] D. K. Jain, *Apabhraṁśa-prakāśa*, p. 202.

[5] V. 53: See *supra* p. 88.

[6] *PC.*, p. 25: लक्ष्मीर्यास्यति गोविन्दे वीरश्रीर्वीरवेश्मनि।
गते मुञ्जे यशः पुञ्जे निरालम्बा सरस्वती॥

Several verses are found in the Saṁskṛt as well as the Prākṛt literature which were composed to mourn the sad demise of Vākpati Muñja. They are reminiscent of the fame, prosperity and honour of this great king.

Sindhurāja: Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that after the death of Muñja, Bhoja was placed on the throne: "Then the ministers in the country of Mālava, hearing that event, placed Bhoja—the son of Muñja's brother, on the throne."[1] A contemporary Jain account, *Tilakamañjarī*, states that "having found fit to govern the kingdom Muñja himself annointed Bhoja."[2] But in the light of the other contemporary references the above statements do not seem to be true. Padmagupta, a court poet of Sindhurāja writes in his *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* that 'Muñja placed the world in Sindhurāja's arm which was marked by scars of bow-string.'[3] This fact is also confirmed by the Udayapur praśasti.[4] The Jain inscription, known as Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman of the time of Bhoja, while giving the succession from Sīyaka to Bhoja refers to Sindhurāja as the successor of Vākpatirāja (Muñja): 'Devotee of the feet of Vākpatirājadeva was Sindhurāja who had covered all the boundaries upto the sea by his fame, which was praised by the enemies, conquered in the several fierce battles."[5] All this shows that he actually succeeded his brother Muñja.

It appears that Sindhurāja hardly had the personality or ability of his brother though Padmagupta highly praised him. We, however, have certain Jain accounts of Sindhurāja's war with the neighbouring Caulukya kings. The famous Vaḍanagar praśasti of Kumārapāla composed by a Jain poet Śrīpāla states: "Sindhurāja fled away together with his own elephants that were cowed by the smell of rut of Cāmuṇḍarāja's elephant inhaling even from afar."[6] It denotes that Sindhurāja advanced on Pātana but ultimately withdrew. A quite later Jain writer Jayasiṁhasūri mentions in his *Kumārapāla-*

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[1] *SJGM.*, I., p. 25: अथ मालवमण्डले तद्वृत्तान्तवेदिभिः सचिवैस्तद्भ्रातृव्यो भोजनामा राज्येऽभिषिच्यत्।

[2] See *supra* p. 88.

[3] *NC.*, XI., 98: पुरं कालक्रमात्तेन प्रस्थितेनाम्बिकापतेः।
मौर्वीकिणाङ्कवलयस्य पृथ्वी दोर्ष्णि निवेशिता॥

[4] *EI.*, I., pp. 235, 237, V. 16.

[5] *EI.*, XIX, p. 61: श्री वाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यात: अनेक .... राजदेवपादानुध्यात: etc.

[6] EI., I., pp. 296-305: सूनुस्तस्य बभूव भूपतिलकश्चामुण्डराजाह्वयो...श्री सिन्धुराजस्तथा नष्ट: क्षोणीपतिर्यथास्य यशसां गन्धोऽपि निर्नासितः।

carita that 'Cāmuṇḍarāja killed Sindhurāja in the battle'.[1] This isolated reference, however, has no support. The commentary of *Dvyāśraya-kāvya,* which is the earlier literary authority, states that on the way of the pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī, Cāmuṇḍarāja had been deprived of the royal insignia by the people of Mālava, thereupon he returned back to Aṇahilapaṭṭana and ordered his son Vallabha to invade Mālava country. His son did it but, after investing the fortification of Dhārā, he died of smallpox.[2] Since Sindhurāja was the contemporary of Cāmuṇḍarāja, these events must have occurred in his reign.

His Reign Period: How long Sindhurāja ruled over Mālava we do not know from the Jain sources. It has been referred to by a Jain work named *Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha* of Amitagati that the last date of Muñja was 994 A.D., and we have assigned the year of his death, approximately, 995 A.D.[3] We have not yet come across any dates of the reign of Sindhurāja. The latest date of his son and successor, Bhoja, known from a published grant found at Modesā, is 1011 A.D.[4] The Jain writer Merutuṅga gives 'fifty-five years, seven months and three days,' as the period of the reign of Bhoja.[5] The earliest known date of Bhoja's successor Jayasiṁha is 1055 A.D. In view of this, Bhoja's succession might have occurred in 999 A.D. The description and date of the Modesā grant give more probability to this year. In the light of the above chronology we may assign only three or four years (c. 995-998 A.D.) to the reign of Sindhurāja.

Bhoja:

His Date of Accession discussed: Bhoja, the magnificent king of India, came on the throne of Ujjayani or Dhārā in the prime of his life. The question of the early limit of his reign has been considered as a perplexed one by scholars. Bühler, on the basis of the then available data, has pointed out that Bhoja fought with the Cālukya Jayasiṁha of Deccan some time between 1011 A.D. and 1019 A.D. As Padmagupta, who probably composed his work in c. 1005 A.D., does not refer to Bhoja, he thereupon thought that Bhoja at that time had not reached the age of 16, the Indian age of majority. He, therefore,

[1] *KC.* Canto 1, V. 32: राज्ञे चामुण्डराजोऽस्य यश्चामुण्डाम्बरोद्धुरः।
सिन्धुरेन्द्रमिवोन्मत्तं सिन्धुराजं मृधेऽवधीत्॥

[2] *DV.* Canto 7, V. 31, 43 and commentary on them.

[3] See *supra* p. 93.

[4] *BV.*, V, pp. 37-40.

[5] *SJGM.*, I., p. 22: पञ्चाशत्पञ्चवर्षाणि मासाः सप्त दिनत्रयम्।
भोक्तव्यं भोजराजेन सगौडं दक्षिणापथम्॥

concluded that he came to the throne in c. 1010 A.D. or even somewhat later.[1] Uptill now this theory, however, held the ground. But the discovery of the Modesā-grant sets aside all the previous assumptions. This grant is important in many respects: (1) It gives the earliest known date of king Bhoja's reign; (2) it refers to a new prince of Bhoja named Vatsarāja; (3) it shows that Mohadavāsaka district was under the Paramāras even as late as the time of king Bhoja. This grant refers to V.E. 1067 when *paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja parameśvara Bhojadeva* was ruling. It begins with Sīyaka II who was the real founder of the dynasty.

This newly discovered grant, however, settles many problems. Firstly, it denotes that Vatsarāja, the son of Bhoja, who was in charge of the administration in the year of V.E. 1067 (A.D. 1010) must have been at least of the age of eighteen or sixteen. Secondly, Bhoja at that time must have reached the age of 36 or 34, for his son who may be about 16 or 18 years old, might have been born from him at the age of 18 which is an approximate Indian age to beget a child. Thirdly, it denotes that Bhoja must have been crowned king as early as five or six years. His full-fledged titles denote this fact. If we reconcile, at the present state of our knowledge, our assumptions with that of Bühler who gives probable date to Padmagupta's composition 1005 A.D., wherein Bhoja has not been referred to, we may deduce easily that Bhoja's accession may have taken place by the year 1005 A.D. Fourthly, it gives more probability to the period assigned by the Jain author Merutuṅga to the reign of Bhoja stated above and which concerns us here more.

According to the Jain Śubhaśīla, the author of the *Bhoja-prabandha,* the earliest limit of Bhoja's reign is V.E. 1078[2] (1021 A.D.), which is obviously wrong without having any support.

As regards the lower limit of the reign of Bhoja his successor Jayasiṁha's grant known as the Māndhātā-grant shows that Bhoja must have died in or before V.E. 1112 (A.D. 1055-56).[3] Bühler, on the other hand, mainly relying on the statement of Bilhaṇa that on his journey from Kashmir to various places in Northern India, Dhārā cried to him "Bhoja is my king,"[4] assumes the death of Bhoja must have occurred some time after the year 1062 A.D.[5] It may be said here in this connection that

[1] *EI*, I, pp. 232-33, See also *DHNI.*, II, p. 866.

[2] *Bhoja-prabandha*, V. 8: विक्रमाद्वासरादष्ट मुनिव्योमेन्दुसंमिते।
वर्षे मुंजपदे भोजभूपः पट्टे निवेशितः ॥

[3] *EI.*, III, pp. 46-50.

[4] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, XVIII, 96.

[5] *EI.*, I, p. 233.

Bilhaṇa's statement is merely a poetic exaggeration and reliance can be put on it when we have a stronger evidence in the form of an inscription *i.e.*, the Māndhātā grant.

His extensive conquest: Bhoja, in the span of fifty-five years of his life as a great king, waged several wars, did several benevolent works, promoted various branches of learning and, at last, left several monuments to commemorate his achievements.

His several wars with the neighbouring kings have been recorded in the Jain works. Among the eastern neighbours he comes into conflict with the Kalacurī Gāṅgeya (1010-1042 A.D.) but makes him his friend. It has already been pointed out that Gāṅgeya came from the one side and Bhoja encountered him from the other and, by means of intrigues, Bhoja encaged him and then took him away to his capital, honoured him and, at last, made him his friend.[1]

In the south, his early two invasions, the one of Karnāṭaka and the other on Koṅkaṇa, and a later invasion on Karnāṭaka have been recorded by the Jains. The Jain Rājavallabha in his *Bhoja-carita* says:

> "Once some time after the accession of Bhoja, Kusumavatī, the wife of the late Muñja made to perform a drama in which a scene of murder of Muñja by Tailapa was staged. This scene enraged Bhoja and, to retaliate for his uncle's death, he attacked Tailapa with a huge army. In the battle Tailapa was captured and Bhoja treated him brutely as he had treated his uncle."[2]

As Tailapa died in V.E. 1054 (A.D. 997), the possibility of Bhoja's invasion cannot be ruled out here, because we have seen that at the time of accession (c. 999 A.D. or 1005 A.D.) Bhoja was 24 or 30 years old and in A.D. 997 he might have been a young man of 22. A man of this age could easily lead the army against his enemy. Perhaps he attacked Tailapa in accordance with the order of his father Sindhurāja who was ruling then.

It seems that in the above battle Bhoja did not gain much. Next time he invaded Karnāṭaka through Koṅkaṇa. Though he could not (1010-1019 A.D.) succeed in defeating the Cālukya Jayasiṁha II, he, at any rate, annexed Koṅkaṇa, a part of the enemy's territory, to his kingdom. The victory was celebrated in the capital, Ujjayanī (*Koṅkaṇa vijayaparvaṇi*).[3] A Jain inscription known as the Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 20: *Bhoja-Gāṅgeya-prabandha.*
[2] *Bhoja-carita* of Rājavallabha, I, 50-56.
[3] *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 320-25.

confirms the fact that the sway of Bhoja spread over Koṅkaṇa.

This grant is unfortunately undated and belongs to a Jain temple. It begins with an eulogy of the Paramāra Bhojadeva of Dhārā and his ancestry from Sīyaka (II). We are then told that through Bhoja's favour the illustrious Yaśovarman had obtained the town of Selluka and was enjoying 1,500 villages. The grant is made by a Sāmanta of the Gaṅga family in favour of a Jain temple in Śvetapada country (identified with the northern portion of the Nasik district) bordering on Koṅkaṇa.[1]

Bhima I, the Caulukya, an ambitious ruler of Gujarāta, was trying to extend his empire towards the north and in that attempt he pressed Dhandhuka, a Paramāra prince of Candrāvatī (c. 1027-A.D.) the feudatory of Bhoja, to pay him homage. A Jain inscription from the Vimala temple at the Mt. Ābū informs us that Dhandhuka who was averse from rendering homage to Bhīma took refuge with king Bhoja. This attempt of Bhīma was resented by Bhoja who diverted his attention towards the west. The Jains record the one of his western campaigns of the time. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* relates that "when Bhīma was busy with the campaign of Sindh, the Digambara Kulacandra, Commander-in-chief of Bhoja's army, arrived with the officers and sacked the august city of Aṇahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory. 'Kulacandra's loot' became proverbial there since that day. He returned to the country of Mālava with that record of victory and related the whole story to king Bhoja."[2] This narrative shows that Bhīma submitted to Bhoja. Since this war took place at that time when Bhīma was engaged in Sindha with Mahmūd who invaded Somanāth in 1025 A.D., the sack of Pāṭana may be placed very near to that year, say, about 1026 or 1027 A.D.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* further narrates that, after his submission to Bhoja, Bhīma established a diplomatic relation with Bhoja. He sent his diplomatic minister Dāmara or Dāmodara to the court of Bhoja.[3] It

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[1] *EI.*, XIX, pp. 69-75.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 32: इतश्च सिन्धुदेशविजयव्यापृते श्रीभीमे [स दिगम्बरः] समस्त सामन्तैः समं समेत्य श्रीमदणहिल्लपुरभङ्गं कृत्वा धवलगृहघटिकाद्वारे कपर्दकान् वापयित्वा जयपत्रं जग्राह। तदादिकुलचन्द्रेण मुषितमिति सर्वत्र क्षितौ ख्यातिरासीत्। स जयपत्रमादाय मालवमण्डले गतः श्रीभोजाय तं वृत्तान्तं विज्ञापयत्।

[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 33: अथान्यस्मिन्वर्षे श्रीभीमस्तं डामरं प्रेपयितुकामो वार्त्तादि शिक्षयन् आस्ते।

seems from the narration that he lived there for several years before the incident of 1038-39 A.D., when he instigated Bhoja to invade the south. During these years of diplomatic relations Bhīma consolidated his position. He made an alliance with the powerful king Karṇa of Ḍāhal who later on proved him of great help in defeating Bhoja.

Bhoja then diverted his attention towards the north but there he received a set-back. The Jain inscription from Dubkunda of the time of the Kacchapaghāṭa Vikramasiṁha refers to that "Abhimanyu (c. 1035-44 A.D.), one of the predecessors of Vikramasiṁha who highly praised the skill shown in the management of horses and chariots by the very intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja."[1] This statement shows that to Abhimanyu he submitted and paid his subservience. The Sāsabahū inscription (V.E. 1150) composed by the Jain Yaśodeva also informs us that Kīrtirāja Kachavāhā also defeated Bhoja, the king of Mālava. As we know that these Kacchapaghāṭas were the feudatories of the Candellas and a Candella inscription described Bhoja as worshipping Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil', we may assume that through the assistance of the Candellas he must have received this set-back.[2]

In the N.W. also Bhoja made an incursion. The Jain authority known as the Sundhā Hill inscription of Cācigadeva narrates that Cāhamāna Aṇahilla of Naḍḍūla defeated his army and killed Sadha, a general (*daṇḍādhīśa*) of the Mālava king Bhoja in the battle.[3] But we know from other sources that the Naḍḍūla king soon submitted. Bhoja was already Master of the Citrakūṭa fort and built there a temple to 'Tribhuvana Nārāyaṇa'.[4]

The engagement of Bhoja in the north made his southern and western enemies bold and they raised their heads against him again. Bhoja prepared himself to punish them. Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states:

> "In a certain year, owing to a failure of rain, it became impossible to obtain grain and grass and king Bhīma was informed by his representatives that king Bhoja for this very reason was preparing for an invasion. This made him anxious, and he gave orders to his diplo-

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[1] See *supra*, p. 78: Chapter on the Kacchapaghāṭas.

[2] *EI.*, IX, pp. 70 ff.

[3] *RMR.*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

[4] *Ibid.*

matic agent Dāmara to this effect."[1] It is further narrated that Dāmara diverted the attentions of Bhoja from Gujarāta by getting a drama performed in which Muñja's death at the hands of Tailapa II was staged. In this act a certain angry king tried to make Tailapa, who had secured himself a comfortable corner in the prison, get up. Tailapa replies "I have an ancestral holding here. Why should I leave my own home at the bidding of a new-comer like you?" At first sight Bhoja was pleased with the flattery and praised Dāmara for which he received from him a prompt reply—'King, the display of wit is, no doubt, extraordinary, but for the ignorance that this actor shows with regard to the history of the hero of the tale, for this mighty king Tailapadeva is recognized by having the head of the king Muñja fixed on a stake'. *Thus stung by his sarcasm Bhoja gave up the intention of invading* Gujarāta and invaded Karnāṭaka."[2]

This story, however, has little factual value. Moreover, there is no inscriptional evidence to confirm it. Merutuṅga, on the other hand, informs us that Bhoja did not actually invade the Deccan in hot haste. He says:—

> "Hearing that a very strong force was coming under the banner of Tailapa Bhoja became very much perturbed and at this juncture Dāmara came to him and showing him a forged rescript from his king informed Bhoja that Bhīma had reached Bhogapura. This news perplexed him more. It was to him like the sprinkling of salt on a wound. Bhoja entreatingly asked Dāmara "You must, by hook or by crook, prevent your master from coming here during the current year". Bhoja presented him a male and a female elephants to appease Bhīma.[3]

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 30: अथ कस्मिन्नपि संवत्सरे अवृष्टिभावात् कणतृणानामप्राप्तया दुःस्थे देशे स्थानपुरुषैर्भोजागमं ज्ञापितः श्री भीमश्चिन्ताप्रपन्नो दामरनामानं सन्धिविग्रहिकमादिशत्। यत्किमपि दण्डं दत्वास्मिन्वर्षे श्रीभोज इहागच्छन्निवारणीयः।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31: दापनादनु समस्तराजविडम्बननाटकेऽभिनीयमाने सकोपः कोऽपि भूपः कारागारमन्तरा पुरः स्थितं सुस्थितं तैलपं....तेनोचे....अहमिहान्वयवासी कथमागन्तुक भवद्वचसा निजं पदमुज्झामि, इति विहस्य नृपो दामरं प्रति नाटकरसावतारं प्रशंसस्तेनाभिदधे—देव अतिशयिन्यपि रसावतारे धिग्नटस्य कथानायकवृत्तान्तानभिज्ञताम्। यथा श्रीतैलपदेवराजा शूलिकाप्रोतमुञ्जराज-शिरसा प्रतीयते इति। .... तदैव तिलङ्गदेशं प्रति प्रयाणमकरोत्।

[3] अथ तैलपदेवस्यातिबलमायान्तमाकर्ण्य व्याकुलं श्रीभोजं स दामरः समायातकल्पितराजादेश-दर्शनपूर्वं भोगपुरे श्रीभीमं समायातं विज्ञापयामास। तया तद्वार्त्तया क्षते क्षारनिक्षेपसदृक्षया विलक्षी-

3 [Contd.]

This episode reminds us that by that time Bhoja must have been much tired by his constant warfare with his neighbouring kings. He might have become old too, perhaps more than 64 years old.

His two enemies Bhīma of Aṇahillapāṭan and Kalacūri Karṇa were getting restive. Bhoja, however. had to play his lost drama with them. The rivalry between Bhīma and Bhoja was not merely political. it was cultural too. Many anecdotes preserved in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* as well as the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* relate several events which reveal the state of affairs fairly.

Bhīma attempted to kill Bhoja several times. Merutuṅga records that at one time when Bhoja was worshipping his family goddess in a temple in the suburb of Dhārā. he was surprised and nearly captured by a party of Gujarāta cavalry.[1]

At last with Karṇa of Ḍāhala and the Cālukya Someśvara. Bhīma formed a confederacy to kill Bhoja and in it he succeeded at last. Bhīma allured Karṇa, having promised him the half of Bhoja's kingdom.

Thus *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* in a different version relates a story. It runs thus:

> "Karṇa feeling jealous of Bhoja's fame and other paraphernalia demanded either war or acceptance of his supremacy by Bhoja. But Bhoja. being afraid of breaking his promise, remained silent. Then Karṇa set out with 137 kings to make war on Bhoja and at the same time he invited Bhīma to attack Mālava in the rear, promising him the half of Bhoja's kingdom. Then king Bhoja being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome with a charm, loses its poison. And then a sudden malady took hold of Bhoja. Nobody was allowed to enter the door of Bhoja's fort. The king Bhīma sent his servant to his own diplomatic agent Dāmara in order to ascertain the condition of Bhoja.[2] When

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[2] [Contd.]

क्रियमाणः श्रीभोजराजो दामरमभ्यधात्। अस्मिन्वर्षे त्वया स्वस्वामी श्वबनार्याहागच्छनिवार्य इति..
..हस्तिनीसहितं हस्तिनमुपायनं समादाय पत्तने श्रीभीमं परितोषयामास।

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 48: अश्ववार त्रन्यः।

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50: श्री कर्णनृपः कदाचित् श्रीभोजं प्रति प्रधानान् प्राहिणोत्। .... श्रीभोजं दूतमुखेन निर्भर्त्सयामास। ततः उप्रतिज्ञाभङ्गभीत्यो मालवमण्डलमुत्सृजया प्रयातुम् उत्सृजन्नो-मासीत्। .... श्रीकर्णस्तावद्भिरेव नृपैः समं प्रस्थितः श्रीभोजमभ्यपेगवन्। तस्मिन्नवसरे श्री-भोजराज्यार्द्धं प्रतिश्रुत्य मालवमण्डलागमनाय निस्सीमवर्द्धनगरे श्रीकर्णः श्रीभीममजूहवत्। अथ

[2] [Contd.]

Bhoja expired, Karṇa broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja, whereupon Bhīma sent the following order to Dāmara: " you must give me either half of the kingdom stipulated for, duly obtaining it from Karna, or your own head." Accordingly he entered the royal pavilion with thirty-two foot soldiers and took Karṇa prisoner, when he was asleep in the middle of the day. Then Karna placed in one division a shrine of the gods, and in the other all the property of the kingdom and said to Dāmara "Take whichever half you please." Then Dāmara took the shrine and made a present of it to Bhīma."

Though the whole story cannot be taken as true, yet certain facts mentioned in it need our consideration. Dāmara of this legend is certainly identical with Dāmodara mentioned by Hemacandra. That Bhīma attacked Karṇa and his minister, having taken the golden shrine, the bloomed fame of Bhoja, and made peace with Karṇa is also stated by Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*.[1] But, unfortunately, we have no documentary evidence to prove this joint attack of Bhīma and Karna on Bhoja and his sudden death. The Vaḍanagar-praśasti composed by the Jain Śrīpāla states on the other hand Bhīma's attack over Dhārā, the city of Mālava emperor.[2]

His death: Regarding the death of Bhoja, the Jain chroniclers have no definite statement. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* in one place states that "the king Bhoja being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome with a charm, loses its poison, and then a sudden disease took hold of Bhoja and he was hidden by the people."[3] From this statement certain scholars inferred that Bhoja died during a joint attack on Dhārā by the

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[2] [Contd]

ताभ्यां नरेन्द्राभ्यां मन्त्रेणाक्रान्तो व्याल इव भूपालो विगलितदर्पविषो बभूव। आकस्मिके संजाते भोजवपुरपाटवे .... श्रीभीम .... दामरं भोजवृत्तान्तज्ञानाय स्वपुरुषेण पप्रच्छ। अथ तस्मिन् श्रीभोजे दिवमुपेयुषि तद्वृत्तान्तविदाकर्णेन तद्दुर्गमदुर्गभंगादनु समग्रायां श्रीभोजलक्ष्म्यामुपात्तायां श्रीभीमेन दामरः आदिष्टः —यच्छ्रीकर्णात्त्वया मत्परिकल्पितं राज्यार्द्धं निजशिरो वोपनेतव्यं। इति राजादेशं विधित्सु द्वात्रिंशता पत्तिभिः समं गुरूदरे प्रविश्य मध्यान्हकाले प्रसुप्तं श्रीकर्णं वान्द्ये जग्राह। अथ तेन राज्ञा एकस्मिन् विभागे नीलकण्ठ चिन्तामणिगणाधिपप्रमुख देवतावसरे निर्णीतेऽपरस्मिन्नुत्तरार्द्धे समस्तराज्य वस्तूनि स्वेच्छयैकमर्द्धमादस्वेत्यभिहिते श्रीभीमराजादेशाद्देवतावसरमादाय श्रीभीमायोपायनीचकार ।

[1] Canto IX, V. 57. सम्फुल्लकीर्त्तिर्भोजस्य स्वर्णमण्डपिकामिमाम् ।
श्रीवासोत्फुल्लपद्माभां हरापरिक्रुशश्रियम् ॥

[2] *EI.*, II, p. 297, V. 9.

[3] *PC.*, p. 51., See also *supra*, p. 102.

Caulukya Bhīma I and Karṇa, the Kalacūri king.[1] But in another place, the same work, however, relates:

> "Then Bhoja, as his journey to the other world drew nigh, performed the religious duties appropriate to the occasion, and gave the following order "After my death, my hands are to be placed outside my chariot" and then went to heaven.[2]

This indicates his natural death. This seems plausible also to me, because the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* refers to the fact that "then Karṇa, hearing of that occurrence, broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja." It seems that in the former attack king Bhoja was only defeated but not captured and the shock of this defeat, probably, resulted in his death. The *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* states that Bhoja died of diarrhoea.[3]

Bhoja bore the title Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa. A Jain work on grammar, namely, the *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi*, refers to this title as Triloka-Nārāyaṇa,[4] which is the same; Triloka and Tribhuvana being synonyms. He was also called as Dhāreśvara and Mālavacakravartī.[5]

Foundation of Dhārā: According to the Jain prabandhas, Bhoja founded the city of Dhārā. Merutuṅga relates one story:

> "When Bhoja was listening to the reading of a treatise on law he heard of Rādhāvedha of Arjuna. He thought to practise it and thus succeeded in performing the world-famed Rādhāvedha. Then he arranged a festival to show his skill, which was attended by all the citizens. But an oilman and a tailor did not come, out of contempt. Being asked they themselves showed their skill in that art and in this way they lowered the king's pride. They said: "King Bhoja, I know why you performed the cleaving of Rādhā. It was because Your Majesty could not tolerate an opposite to Dhārā." In these words he was praised by the learned and being desirous of laying out a new city he founded it after the name of a prostitute named Dhārā who showed him an accurate plan."[6]

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[1] *DHNI.*, II, 869.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51: श्रीभोजः सन्निहितपरलोकप्रयाणः कृततदुचितधर्मकृत्यः राज्यस्यानुशास्ति समस्तराजलोकस्य विनीय मम पञ्चत्वानन्तरं मत्करौ विमानाद्बहिर्विधेयौ।

[3] *SJGM.*, II, p. 20: षष्ठे मासे नृपोऽतिसारान्मृतः।

[4] p. 277.

[5] Vadanagar praśasti of Kumārapāla : V. 9.

[6] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 31-32: राधावेध प्रबन्धः।

To this legend we need not attach much importance, because Udayapur-praśasti informs us that Vairisimha, an ancestor of Bhoja, made the name of Dhārā etymologically fit by killing the enemies with the edge of the sword.[1]

As a patron of learning: King Bhoja figures in the Indian literature and folklore not merely as a warrior in various campaigns but is also renowned for his liberally patronising Art and Literature just as his illustrious uncle was. He made, however, his name immortal by promoting various cultural activities. His court was graced by a group of eminent contemporary Indian scholars. They were known as the jewels of the court (*sabhā-ratna*). Merutuṅga, in his *Bhīma-Bhoja-prabandha*[2] mentions the names of some of them, such as, Māgha, Sītā, Dhanapāla, Śobhana muni, Mānatunga, Bāṇa, Mayūra, Rājaśekhara. The *Bhoja-prabandha* adds Dāmodara, Kālidāsa, and Bhavabhūti. But some of the names, it seems, are anachronisms. For example, the poets Bāṇa, Mayūra, Mānatuṅga, Māgha, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara could not have been certainly contemporaries of Bhoja. We know from the history of Saṁskṛt literature that Bāṇa, Mayūra and Mānatuṅga were almost contemporaries of Harṣavardhana; Bhavabhūti was in the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj; and Rājaśekhara flourished under Mahendra-Pāla of Kanauj; the rest lived earlier than Bhoja. Merutuṅga also informs us that the poetess Sītā was in his court but according to the statement of the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, she lived in the court of Kṛṣṇarāja, one of the fore-fathers of Bhoja.[3]

His munificence: His love of learning and literature inspired him so much that he occasionally distributed his wealth among the erudites to promote their cause. He bestowed rich gifts upon the person who composed even an ordinary stanza. His munificences are recorded in the Jain prabandhas in the form of several anecdotes, only few abstracts from which are reproduced below:—

> One night a certain thief cut a tunnel beneath the wall of the palace and entered the treasure-room where the king was sleeping. The king suddenly awoke at the mid-night hour and seeing the moon recently risen in sky "like the rising of his literary sea," there arose from his lips this half stanza:

[1] *EI.*, I., p. 234 · शत्रुवर्ग धारयासेर्न्निहत्य श्रीमद्धारासूचिता येन राज्ञा।

[2] Pt. pp. 34-35.

[3] *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, XI., V. 77: सदागति प्रवृत्तेन सीतोच्छ्वसित हेतुना।
हनुमतेव यशसा यस्यालङ्घ्यत सागरः॥

"What appears on the body of the moon like a strip of cloud
They assert is a hare but I think it does not wear that form."

The thief replied:

"But I think that the moon has its body well marked with the brands of a hundred scares of the meteor strokes of the side looks of the maidens who are parted from the foes you have killed."
The thief was rewarded by the king very generously for this.

On one occasion when the king was going round on his daily circuit, he happened to reach the bank of the river, where he saw a Brāhmaṇa, fording the river with a load of fire-wood on his head. The king asked him in a quarter stanza:

"How deep is the water, O Brāhmana?"
The Brāhmaṇa completed the line with—
"O King, it is knee deep."
The king continued—
"How were you reduced to this state?"
The Brāhmaṇa replied—
"Now everywhere are there patrons like you."
The king gave a large present to that poor Brāhmaṇa.

On a subsequent occasion a family consisting of a father, mother, son, daughter and a wretched one-eyed maid servant, all learned, were waiting at the gate eager for an interview with the king They were admitted and the king gave each of them a quarter couplet to complete, which they did wisely. The king rewarded them and took the daughter as his wife.[1]

As a scholar: King Bhoja was a great scholar and a skilful poet himself. He is said to have composed about two dozen works on various subjects, such as medicine, astronomy, religion, grammar, architecture, alaṁkāra, lexicography, arts etc. It is, however, doubtful that in the midst of his incessant military activities Bhoja found time to write so many books himself. It may be possible that some of them were composed by the literary men of his court and later on ascribed to him.

By his magnificent generosity Bhoja encouraged the poets to compose literary works. We have seen that the Jain Dhanapāla wrote his *Tilakamañjarī* for the gratification of Bhoja.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[2] See *supra* p. 88.

The completion of stanzas (*samasyā-pūrti*) was one of poetic fashions of the day and it is said that Bhoja was daily surrounded by a hundred scholars who were skilled in this type of poetic composition.[1]

The display of poetic repartee became part of diplomatic conversation also, mostly between Bhoja and Bhīma I Cāulukya.[2]

Bhoja was very proud of the learning and poetic skill of the scholars of his country and contemptuous of those of Gujarat. Once he remarked to the Gujarata consul in his court: "not one of your most famous scholars is fit to be weighed in the balance with a cowherd of my land."[3]

A huge production of the Jain literature and other literatures during his period shows the multifarious activities of Bhoja to promote the cause of learning.[4] Several Jain authors like Prabhācandra, Dhanapāla, Śāntiṣeṇa, Mahendrasūri. etc., flourished during his reign. Bhoja was also a just man. He always heard the complaints of his subjects and tried to remove them. He freely moved among his people to know their distress.[5]

His religion: Bhoja was a Śaivite. A Jain work on grammar, namely, the *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi*, relates: "Though your forefathers Vairisiṁha etc., were devotees of Śiva, you only have realised the god Śiva."[6] This statement confirms the above fact. He, however, always respected the learned men irrespective of caste and creed. A Jain inscription from Śravaṇabelgolā informs us that the feet of the Jain monk, Prabhācandra were worshipped by king Bhoja of Dhārā.[7] A second Jain inscription from Dubkund of the time of the Kacchapaghāṭa king Vikramasiṁha mentions that the Jain preceptor Śāntiṣeṇa defeated all those (Ambaraṣeṇa etc.) scholars in the court of the

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[1] *PC.*, pp. 36-43: धनपालपण्डितप्रवन्धः —सीता प्रवन्धश्च।

[2] *PC.*, p. 28: कृत्वेमां गाथां श्रीभीमं प्रति प्राहिणोत् .... भीमगोविन्दाचार्यविरचितां गाथां प्रस्थाप्य.... ।

[3] *PC.*, p. 45: अस्मद्देशीयावलागोपालयोरपि भवदीयोऽग्रणीः पण्डितः कोऽपि न तुलामधिरोहति।

[4] See, *Mahendrasūri-caritam, Sūrācārya-caritam*, in *PCA.*, pp. 138–60.

[5] *PC.*, pp. 47-49. *Bījapūraka-prabandha, Ikṣurasaprabandha* and *Gopagṛhinī-prabandha.*

[6] *Taddhita Ganādhyāya*, IV, p. 163: दृप्टोडुलोमेपु मयौडुलोमे श्रीवैरिसिंहादिपु रुद्रभक्तिः ....विलासिनीवोर्वांपतिना कलौ यद्व्यलोकि लोकेऽत्रमृगांकमौलिः।

[7] *MDJG.*, XXVIII, p. , V. 17: श्रीधाराधिपभोजराजमुकुटप्रोताश्मरश्मिच्छटा-
छाया....
स्थेयात् पण्डितपुण्डरीकतरणि श्रीमान्प्रभाचन्द्रमा।

king Bhoja who showed dishonour to the Jain scholars.[1] Merutuṅga and Prabhācandra amply refer to the discussions between the Jain Dhanapāla and Bhoja, which indicates how tolerant in religious matters Bhoja was.[2]

SUCCESSORS OF BHOJA:

Jayasiṁha and Udayāditya: From the Modesā grant referred to above we have already known that Bhoja had a son by name Vatsarāja. We, however, know nothing of him from any sources. It seems that he predeceased his father.

The Māndhātā grant dated V.E. 1112[3] and the Panhera Stone inscription dated V.E. 1116,[4] both belonging to the reign of Jayasiṁha, inform us that Jayasiṁha, as a successor of Bhoja, ruled Mālava for four years. But the Udayapur and the Nagpur praśastis of the Paramāras do not mention the name of Jayasiṁha. According to them Udayāditya was the successor of Bhoja. It seems that they have omitted the name of Jayasiṁha. The Jain chroniclers, however, did not record the names of the two kings.

Jagaddeva (Lakṣmadeva): Udayāditya's son Jagaddeva is known from the Jainaḍ (Jaināth) inscription found in the N.E. of the Hyderabad State.[5] He is referred to there as the son of Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja and conquering the country of the Āndhras. Recently three of his coins have been found in Madhya Pradeśa. From their fabric and type the coins appear to be South Indian.[6] It seems that he ruled over Deccan. According to the *Rāsamālā*, Jagaddeva was one of the two sons of Udayāditya born from Solaṅki queen. On account of a palace intrigue he left Mālava and entered in the services of Caulukya Jayasiṁha. He served him for 18 years but when the king advanced to attack Dhārā he quitted his service and returned to his father, who soon after invested him with 'the royal authority.[7] The Jain prabandhas also mention a Jagaddeva. While the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* speaks of him as belonging to the Paramāra

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[1] *EI.*, II, p. 239, lines 44-45: आस्थानाधिपतौ बुधाद्विगुणे श्रीभोजदेवे नृपे ।
सभ्येष्वम्बरसेनपण्डितशिरोरत्नादिषूद्यन्मदान् ॥
योऽनेकान् शतशो व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिनः ।
शास्त्राम्भोनिधिनागरोऽभवदतः श्रीशान्तिषेणो गुरुः ॥

[2] *PC.*, pp. 36-42: धनपालपण्डितप्रबन्धः ।

[3] *EI.*, III, pp. 46-50.

[4] *ASI.*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20

[5] The Annual Report, Hyderabad Arch. Sur., 1927-28, pp. 23-24.

[6] *PTOC.*, 1926, Pt. III, pp. 57-58.

[7] *Rāsamālā*, I, Chap. VIII, p. 117.

family and in the association of king Siddharāja Jayasiṁha,[1] the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, however, does not know him as a Paramāra but mentions him with Jayasiṁha Caulukya of Gujarāta, and king Paramardi of Kuntala country.[2] I have elsewhere shown that a Jagaddeva of the Jain prabandhas may be taken as identical with the prince of the same name of the Sāntāra family of the south, most probably the son of the sister of Mayaṇallā, the mother of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, and not with Jagaddeva Paramāra.[3]

It is true that Jagaddeva was an historical person proved by the Jainad inscription but the statement of the *Rāsamālā*, which speaks of him as belonging to the court of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, is based on an erroneous tradition, for we know that the historical Jagaddeva whose approximate period is V.E. 1143-1160, is very senior to Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (V.E. 1150-1199). Most probably it seems that the chroniclers of Gujarāta confused this Jagaddeva with another Jagaddeva of the later period. According to certain scholars Jagaddeva was a *viruda* of Lakṣmadeva who is mentioned in the Nagpur praśasti as one of the two sons of Udayāditya.[4] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that Jagaddeva was given a province to rule by king Paramardi of Kuntala. It also records some stories regarding his great abilities. The same inscription tells us that Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his brother Naravarman.[5]

Naravarman (1094-1133 A.D.): Naravarman, in the Jain literature, has been shown on hostile terms with the Gurjara king Jayasiṁha (1094-1144 A.D.) and two or three Cāhamāna kings. Merutuṅga says:—

"Once king Jayasiṁha was absent from his capital on his pilgrimage. Yaśovarman, the king of Mālava, taking advantage of the opportunity, began to overrun Gujarāta. His minister Śāntu asked him on what condition he would return. He said, 'I will return if you make over to me the merit which your master has gained by his pilgrimage to the shrine of the god of Someśvara'. Śāntu, having washed the king's feet, threw into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the trans-

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 25: निर्णीतदिनोपरि जयसिंहदेवेन जगद्देवस्य परमारवंशोद्भवस्य पट्टबन्धः कृतः ।

[2] *Ibid.*, I., p. 114: अथ जगद्देवक्षत्रियः श्रीसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिना सम्मान्यो .... श्रीपरमर्द्दिना समाहूतः कुन्तलमण्डलमवाप्य .... ।

[3] Chap. on the Cāulukyas.

[4] *DHNI.*, II, p. 878.

[5] *EI.*, II., pp. 186-88.

ference of that merit, and thus he induced the king to return. When Siddharāja Jayasiṁha returned he became angry."[1]

This episode most probably contains the historical fact. We know that, after the death of Bhoja, the rivalry between Paramāra and Caulukya family increased considerably. Bhoja's two or three successors could not revive the glory of Ujjayanī again, but they continued the struggle with Caulukyas. Naravarman and his son Yaśovarman both were the contemporaries of Jayasiṁha. This above-mentioned event seems to have occurred in the reign of Naravarman though Merutuṅga connects it with the reign of Yaśovarman the son of Naravarman, which seems to be a mistake. Moreover, Yaśovarman was a weak ruler and he was defeated by Jayasiṁha. So this event can be placed in his reign. Several other Jain authorities like the *Kumārapāla-caiita* of Jayasimhasūri, the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* of Jinamaṇḍanagaṇ and the *Prabandha-kośa* of Rājaśekhara refer to this struggle between Naravarman and Jayasiṁha.[2] They state that in this struggle Naravarman was imprisoned by Jayasiṁha, which seems a poetic fancy, for the earlier work *Kīrtikaumudī* refers to the fact that Jayasiṁha captured the city of Dhārā of Naravarman, and the Talwara inscription informs us that Jayasiṁha humbled the pride of Naravarman.

Most probably allied to the above quoted episode is another episode recorded in the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha.* It runs as follows:—

"Once wrath prevailed between Jayasiṁha and the minister Śāntu (perhaps on account of his surrender to Naravarman). Thereupon Śāntu left Pāṭana in high resentment and went to Dhārā with bag and baggage. Jayasiṁha sent his man in disguise to get the first-hand knowledge of his activities. Śāntu while living there in Mālava did not shake his allegiance to his previous lord and the land.

[1] *SJGM.*, I., pp. 58-59: छलान्वेषिणा यशोवर्मणा मालवकभूपेन गुर्जरदेशे उपद्रयमाणे शान्तुसचिवेन 'त्वं कथं निवर्तसे?' इति प्रोक्तः etc.

[2] (*i*) Canto I, v, बद्ध्वा श्री नरवर्मभूधवमदः पादाग्रचर्मार्जितं।

(*ii*) P. 8.

(*iii*) pp. 90-91: जयसिंहो मध्ये परपुरं प्रविष्टो नरवर्माणं मालवेन्द्रं जीवग्राहमग्रहीत्। द्वादशवर्षाणि जयसिंहस्य खड्गोनिष्प्रत्याकारोऽस्थात्, नरवर्मचर्मघटितमेव प्रत्याकारं करोमि इति प्रतिज्ञावशात्। अत एव हस्त्यारूढं नरवर्माणं भूमौ पातयामास। वितस्तिमात्र चर्माद्विसत्क-मुदर्नानरत। अत्रान्तरे प्रधानैर्विज्ञप्तम्—राजन्! राजाऽवध्य एवेति नीतिवचः। तस्मान्मोक्तुमर्होऽयम्, ततो मुक्तः सः। मुक्त्वा काष्ठपिञ्जरे क्षिप्तः। नरवर्मचर्मान्यचर्मभ्यां सिद्धराजेन निज कृपाणे प्रत्याकारः कारितः।

He told the Mālava king that his king is aggrieved due to some unknown reason. He would call him back in a few days. Jayasiṁha, on the other side, expressed repentance and invited Śāntu to return. The old minister accepting this invitation returned but on his way he died at Āhaḍa, near Udayapur."[1] This episode confirms the above event and shows that it must have occurred at the early period of both the kings.

A Jain inscription from Bijolia of the Cāhamāna Someśvara informs us that Ajayadeva (*c.* 1106 A.D.), one of the ancestors of Someśvara, captured one Sollaṇa, a commander-in-chief (*Daṇḍanāyakavara*) of Mālava alive, in the field of battle.[2] Naravarman, most probably, was the contemporary of Ajayarāja and Sollaṇa. His general might have been defeated by Ajayarāja. The same inscription informs us that Ajayarāja's son Arṇorāja showed disrespect to one who called Nirvāṇa Nārāyaṇa, and brought him to humiliation.[3] This Nirvāṇa Nārāyaṇa has been identified by scholars with Naravarman who was a contemporary of both Ajayarāja and Arnorāja. The *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* states in one place that Naravarman was defeated three times by Vīsaladeva (Cāhamāna ruler Vigraharāja III, *c.* 1100 A.D.)[4] which seems to have been recorded by mistake in place of the above-narrated defeat. The same book calls Naravarman as Viveka Nārāyana.[5] It appears that Naravarman might have been a saintly king. His two epithets Nirvāṇa Nārāyaṇa and Viveka Nārāyaṇa fairly connote this meaning.

Yaśovarman: Naravarman before the year 1133 A.D. was succeeded by his son Yaśovarman. In his reign the hostility with Caulukya Jayasiṁha resulted in a disastrous misfortune to the Paramāras. Jayasiṁha with huge preparation invaded the Mālava country. It was the time of the beginning of Yaśovarman's reign. He involved him in a long-drawn war of twelve years. The contemporary authority Hemacandra states:—

> Jayasiṁha advanced towards Mālava with slow speed. On the way he subdued all the petty princes. The Bhillas offered him their services. Then he encamped his garrison by the bank of Siprā and sacked the city

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 79.

[2] *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 84–112, V. 15: क्षिप्रं क्रूरकृतान्तवक्त्रकुहरे श्रीमार्गदुर्गान्वितम्। श्रीमत्सोल्लणदण्डनायकवरः संग्रामरंगाग्रणे।

[3] V. 17: तच्चित्रं प्रतिभासते सुकृतिना निर्वाणनारायण न्यक्काराचरणेन भंगकरणं श्रीदेवराजं प्रति।

[4] *SJGM.*, II., p. 79: स नरवर्मा राजा वीसलेन वारत्रयं भग्नोऽसि।

[5] *Ibid.*: विवेकनारायण गुर्जरनराधिपतिरस्मत्स्वामी विवेकबृहस्पतिः।

of Dhārā. Yaśovarman, being frightened, remained in the fort of Dhārā and closed all the gates and put sharpened arrows on them. Jayasiṁha with the help of an elephant by name Yaśaḥpaṭaḥ broke open all the gates. Yaśovarman fled from Dhārā Jayasiṁha pursued him. "This Caulukya hero of renown, like unto a dancer, wielding his blade in battle, seized Mālava's field-fleeing monarch, who from Dhārā had fled."[1]

Merutuṅga gives us detailed description of the capture of Dhārā:—

"The king started on an expedition to that country of Mālavas. There a war of twelve years' duration took place in which the king was victorious and he took this vow: 'I will not eat today until I have captured the fort of Dhārā'. The ministers and the foot soldiers killed the Paramāra Rajputas by five hundred at a time, but still were unable to fulfil the king's vow by the end of the day; so he had to fulfil it in an equivocal manner by breaking into Dhārā made of meal. Then the king was desirous of turning back and he revealed it to the minister Muñjāla. Muñjāla, at last, got ready a plan to break the fort. The king was informed. He led his army to the southern gate of the fort and reckless of the fact that the fort was hard to enter, he with the help of a mighty elephant named Yaśaḥpaṭala driven by mahut Sāmala got broken the iron bar. The gates were then opened. But in this effort the elephant died and a temple of Gaṇapati was created in his memory in the village Vaḍasara. Siddharāja then captured Yaśovarman, established there his sovereignty and returned to Pāṭana.[2]

This battle of Dhārā must have been won before the year V.E. 1192 (*c.* 1135 A.D.) because a colophon of the Jain MS namely, the *Navapada laghuvṛtti*,[3] informs us that at that time Jayasiṁha bore the title of *Avantinātha*. The Gālā grant,[4] dated V.E. 1193 (*c.* 1136 A.D.), confirms this fact.

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[1] *DV.*, Canto 14. Vs. 12-18: ससूत्कापं कंपितुं ससूत्कयानं निहन्तुं द्विपनोऽसिधानम्।
क्षमं यशोवर्मनृपं क्षपोपं पुष्टं न योगिन्यनुदत्तशक्तिम्, etc.

[2] *SJGM.*, I., pp. 58-59: नृपतिः प्रयाणमकरोत्। तत्र जयकारपूर्वकं द्वादशवार्षिके विग्रहे संजायमाने सति कथंचित् धारादुर्गभंगं कर्तुमप्रभूष्णुः अत्र मया धाराभंगानन्तरं भोक्तव्यमितिकृतप्रतिज्ञो दिनान्तेऽपि कर्तुमक्षमतया सचिवैः कणिक्यां धारायां भज्यमानायां पत्तिभिः परमारपुत्रे विपद्यमानेऽर्थं प्रपन्नान् नृपः प्रतिज्ञामापूर्य अकृतकृत्यतया पश्चाद्व्याघुटितुमिच्छुर्मुञ्जालसचिवं ज्ञापयामास.. ..दुर्गं विमृश्य यशः पटहनाम्नि बलवति दन्तावले समधिरूढः....मगजः पृथिव्यां पपात। मगजः सुभटतया तदा विपद्य वडसरग्रामे ... यशोधवलनामा विनायकरूपेणावततार, etc.

[3] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 103: संवत् ११९२ ज्येष्ठ सुदि....ति....अवन्तीनाथ-
श्रीजयसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने।

[4] *IA.*, X, pp. 158-180.

These continuous wars with the Caulukyas ruined the fortunes of the Paramāras. It is believed that the Paramāras never fully recovered from that blow which destroyed Bhoja and his empire, till at last the last campaign with Jayasiṁha so shattered their energies that they could not regain their pristine glory even after the death of Jayasiṁha.

Yaśovarman continued to rule as a *mahārāja*—a puppet ruler—over a petty principality on the banks of Kāli Sindhu till 1142 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Jayavarman, who was dethroned by another son Ajayavarman in 1144 A.D. The third son Lakṣmīvarman and his successors also continued to rule over a principality in Mālava between 1144 and 1200 A.D. Unfortunately, we have no account of all these successors in the Jain sources.

From the inscriptions of Jayasiṁha it appears that he was the lord of the whole territory from Pañcamahal to the Betwa.

After the expiry of Jayasiṁha, during the reign of his successor Kumārapāla, we learn that a certain Ballāla was ruler over Avanti-Mālava.

Ballāla (1243-1244 A.D.): The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* relates that Kumārapāla advanced to subdue Ballāla after defeating Cāhamāna Āṇṇa. The reason why he advanced to attack Ballāla is given by Hemacandra in a passage. He states that before Āṇṇa advanced upon the frontier of Gujarat he formed an alliance with Ballāla, the king of Avanti, and it was arranged that both the powers should simultaneously attack the Caulukya kingdom from the north and the east.[1] Kumārapāla himself proceeded to overcome Āṇṇa and sent his two generals to check Ballāla. When he returned to his capital, he was informed that his two generals had gone over to the king of Ujjain, Ballāla, and he was advancing towards Aṇahillapura. Thereupon Kumārapāla attacked and totally defeated him.[2]

The *Vasanta-vilāsa*[3] also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla while the *Kīrti-kaumudī*[4] informs us that the latter was beheaded by Kumārapāla. A Jain inscription from Mt. Ābū informs us that "the Paramāra

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[1] *DV*, XVI, p. 269, V. 8: प्राच्यं च वल्लालमयुक्तं पारातो वारपारीणनृपैरपाच्यैः
प्रतीच्यराट् पार्ष्णिनिपीडनार्थमुदीच्यराण्नीत्यतिदिव्यमंत्री ॥

[2] *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 540, Vs. 97-98:

रक्षोभिपशुभिर्दामानिभिरौलपिभिर्वृतः।
श्रीमतैः श्रीमतैश्चामुं वल्लालो दर्पतोऽभ्यगात्॥
शमीवत्याभिजित्याभ्यां शैखावत्येन चैषते।
कृत्यौ विंभेद सामन्तौ नाम्ना विजयकृष्णकौ ॥

[3] III, V. 29, p. 12: वल्लालमुल्लालयतिस्म खड्गं दण्डेन यः कन्दुकलीलयैव।

[4] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 185.

Yaśodhavala of Candrāvatī quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learnt that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla."[1] The identification of this lord of Mālava has been made with Ballāla mentioned in the Vaḍnagar praśasti (V.E. 1208).[2] From this it appears that Ballāla must have lost his life between *c.* 1144 and 1151 A.D. The identification of this Ballāla is a matter of great controversy. Keilhorn assumes that after the crushing defeat of Yaśovarma, a brave and diligent man by name Ballāla of unknown lineage might have usurped some parts of Mālava. Mr. C. V. Vaidya conjectures that it is a *viruda* (second name) of Jayavarman, the first son of Yaśovarman.[3] There are, however, hypotheses. Strangely enough, we do not find his name among the epigraphs of Mālava.

But it is quite certain that Jayavarman was overpowered by more than one king. The Candella Madanavarman (1128-1193 A.D.) is mentioned in his records that 'he defeated the Mālava king'.[4] Jagadekamalla (1139-1150 A.D.), the Cālukya of Kalyāṇi assisted by the Hoysala Narasiṁha I also claims that 'he subdued Mālava monarch'.[5] Between 1143 and 1144 A.D. Jayavarman, however, was on the throne of Mālava.

There are certain kings named as Ballāla among the Hoysalas of Mysore and it is likely that he may have been one of them, as viceroy or feudatory of Jagadekamalla II.[6]

After Jayavarman his succession was divided in his younger brothers Ajayavarman and Lakṣmīvarman. Ajayavarman carved out a principality of his own by capturing some portion of the territory. We, however, do not know of them from the Jain sources.

Vindhyavarman (1192 A.D.): Ajayavarman's son and successor Vindhyavarman appears to have recovered Dhārā which had been lost to his family since the day of Yaśovarman. The copper plate grant of his grandson Arjunavarman informs us that his long arm was eager to extirpate the Gurjaras. The recovery of Dhārā must have been made about V.E. 1249 (A.D. 1192) because we are informed from the colophon of a Jain work *Sāgāra-*

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[1] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 211–215, V. 35: यशोधवल इत्यासीत्तनूजस्ततः....
यश्चौलुक्यकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतम् ।
मत्वा सत्वरमेव मालवपतिं बल्लालमालब्धवान् ॥

[2] *EI*, I, p. 293.

[3] V.N. Reu, *Rājā-Bhoja*, p. 321.

[4] *EI.*, I, p. 198, V. 15.

[5] *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 58, 153.

[6] D. C. Ganguly, *History of Paramāras*, p. 132.

dharmāmṛta of Āśādhara that the author's father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) "on account of the fear of the loss of his virtues came from the Sapādalakṣa country, infested by the Mlecchas to Mālava-maṇḍala, which was full of vigour of the *trivargas* increased by the scent of the arms of king Vindhya."[1] Commenting on the Mlecchas, the author himself says that he meant 'Sihāb-ud-Din Turuṣka-rāja'. We, however, know from history that the invasion of Sihāb-ud-Dīn over that land had occurred in V.E. 1249 (A.D. 1192). According to the same authority Mahākavi Bilhaṇa served as the *Sāndhivigrahika-mantri* of Vindhyavarman.[2] We have fortunately an inscription of this minister dated in the reign of his master, found at Maṇḍapadurga (mod. Māṇḍu).[3] There are many Bilhaṇas in the Saṁskṛt literature and this Bilhaṇa is apparently different from Bilhaṇa, the author of the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita.*

Subhaṭavarman: Vindhyavarman was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman known in the Jain chronicles as Sohaḍa. Merutuṅga in one place relates that during the reign of the Caulukya Bhīma II "the Mālava king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarāta, with the intention of devastating the country."[4] It, however, seems that he did not get a singular success. The grants of his successors confirm the statement of the Jain author.[5] This shows that at that time the position of the Paramāras had become so well consolidated that they became able to invade their rivals.

Arjunavarman (*c.* 1211-1216 A.D.): Subhaṭavarman's son and successor was Arjunavarman. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* mentions that he destroyed the country of Gujarāta.[6] This statement is confirmed by the grants of his successors and by Śrīdhara praśasti of Bhīma II, dated V.E.

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[1] V. 5: म्लेच्छेशेन सपादलक्षविपये व्याप्ते सुवृत्तक्षति।
त्रासद्विन्ध्यनरेन्द्रदोः परिमलस्फूर्जत्त्रिवर्गौजसि ॥
प्राप्तो मालवमण्डले वहुपरीवारः पुरीमावसन्।
यो धारामपठज्जिनप्रमितिवाक्शास्त्रे महावीरतः ॥
—*Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* (*MJGS.*), p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 7.

[3] *Paramāras of Dhārā and Mālava*, by Luard and Lele, p. 37:
विन्ध्यवर्मनृपतेः प्रसादभूः सान्धिविग्रहिकबिल्हणः कविः।

[4] *PC.*, p. 97: अस्मिन्राजनि राज्यं कुर्वाणे श्री सोहडनाम मालवभूपति गुर्जरदेशविध्वंसनाय सीमान्तमागतः ततः प्रधानेन....

[5] *EI.*, IX, pp. 108, 114.

[6] *PC.*, p. 97: तदनु तेन तत्पुत्रेण श्रीमदर्जुनदेवनाम्ना गुर्जरदेशभङ्गोऽकारि।

1273 (1216 A.D.). The Śrīdhara praśasti says that Śrīdhara, by the process of the *mantras*, withheld Devapaṭṭana shaken by the elephants of Mālava.[1] But the king who was defeated, was not actually Bhīma II. He was, perhaps, Jayasiṁha (Jayantasiṁha), sometime usurper of the throne of Bhīma II. according to the *Pārijātamañjarī*. During his reign the Jain poet Āśādhara went to reside in Nalakacchapura (mod. Nālachā, near Dhārā).[2] We learn from Āśādhara that Dhārā was then a great centre of learning. These wars and strifes did not mar the traditions of Dhārā coming down from the time of the great kings Vākpatirāja Muñja and Bhoja. Āśādhara got his education there and taught several pupils, prominent among them were Viśālakīrti, Vinayacandra and royal preceptor (*Rājaguru*) Madana.[3] His son Cāhaḍa was a favourite man of king Arjuna.[4]

We have three grants of his reign ranging from V.E. 1267 to 1272 (A.D. 1211-15). The Bhopal grant (ii), dated V.E. 1272, was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana with permission of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Rājā Sallakhaṇa, (Sallakṣaṇa).[5] This Sallakhaṇa is probably identical with the father of Āśādhara of that name. *Rājaguru* Madana is the same as the pupil of Āśādhara. This Madana composed two more grants and a drama entitled *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* as a praśasti to Arjunavarman. It has been found incised on a slab attached to the northern wall of the Kamāl Maulā mosque at Dhārā.[6] From this drama we know that king Arjunavarman himself was a great literary man. He wrote a commentary on the *Amaruśataka*. The *Pārijātamañjarī* calls him as the incarnation of Bhoja which is not far from truth. Arjunavarman was also a great patron of scholars. He honoured them and appointed them to dignified posts. We know from two royal grants of the king that the poet Bilhaṇa was also his *Sāndhivigrahika* (the minister of

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[1] *EI.*, II, p. 437, V. 42.

[2] Āśādhara, *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta's* colophon, V. 8:

श्रीमदर्जुनभूपालराज्ये श्रावकसंकुले।
जिनधर्मोदयार्थं यो नलकच्छपुरेऽवसत्।

[3] बालसरस्वती महाकविमदन, Āśādhara in his *Dharmāmṛta-ṭīkā*. See *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, Introduction, pp. 3-4: रचितमिदं राजगुरुणा मदनेन—*JAOS.*, VII, pp. 39-40. No. 23.

[4] Colophon of the *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* V. 2.

[5] *JAOS.*, VII, pp. 25-31; see also *Prācīna-lekhamālā*, Pt. I, pp. 6, 7: रचितमिदं महासान्धिविग्रहिक राजसल्लखणसम्मतेन राजगुरुणा मदनेन।

[6] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 96-122.

war and peace).[1] Āśādhara was on cordial terms with the poet and was once called *Sarasvatīputra* by him.[2]

Devapāla (*c*. 1218-36 A.D.): Arjunavarman was succeeded some time before V.E. 1275 by Devapāla. The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived Arjunavarman and finished his *Jinayajñakalpa* during the reign of Devapāla. It was completed in V.E. 1285 (A.D. 1228). According to the same scholar he was also called Sāhasamalla.[3] Jayasiṁhasūri, the author of the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* refers to an incident of Devapāla's reign. He tells us that in alliance with the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa (Siṅghaṇa, A.D. 1210-47) he made a joint attack on Vīradhavala, the Vaghela chief of Dholka, but due to the ability of the spies appointed by Vastupāla, the minister of the Vaghela chief, dissensions arose in the camps of the allied monarchs and the calamity was averted.[4]

It is not possible to identify this Devapāla from the Jain sources. But fortunately we have four inscriptions of his reign ranging from V.E. 1275 to 1289. The first Harsauda stone inscription is dated V.E. 1275 (A.D. 1218).[5] The second Māndhātā grant, dated V.E. 1282 (A.D. 1225), is, however, the most important.[6] It throws light on the lineage of Devapāla and informs us that it was composed by *Rājaguru* Madana with the assent of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*—Paṇḍita Bilhaṇa. The third and fourth inscriptions are from Udayapur, which merely record the years V.E. 1286 (*c*. 1229 A.D.) and 1289 (*c*. 1232 A.D.)[7] in the victorious reign of Devapāla. The Māndhātā plates distinctly state that Devapāla was the son of Hariścandra. In

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[1] *JAOS*., VII, pp. 377-82, 32-34, respectively.

[2] Colophon of *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta*, Vs. 6-7: आशाधर त्वं मयि विद्धि सिद्धं....
सरस्वतीपुत्रतया....विह्लणेन कवीशिना।

[3] V. 20, in the colophon of the *Jinayajñakalpa*: विक्रमवर्षे सपंचाशीतिद्वादशशतेष्वतीतेषु आश्विनसितान्त्यदिवसे साहसमल्लापराख्यस्य श्री देवपालनृपतेः प्रमारकुलशेखरस्य सौराज्ये, नलकच्छपुरे सिद्धो ग्रन्थोऽयं नेमिनाथचैत्यगृहे।

[4] *GOS*., Act I, p. 6: (*i*) अस्मान्प्रतिप्रयाणकाय....प्रगुणीबभूव....श्री सिंहनभूपतिः मालवमहीन्दुरप्यकृतप्रयाणोपक्रमम्, इत्यकस्माकमाकस्मिकः सर्वतोऽपि संकटसंघटः। तदेतद्विघटनभटी मत्प्रमोदनाटिका नटी विजयपरिभोगसम्मुखी यदि श्रीवस्तुपालस्यैव शेमुषी।

(*ii*) *Ibid*., Act II, p. 18: चलिओ मालवम्मि मेइणीनाहो।
सिरि देवपालो वि तस्स सम्मुहंज्जेव परावडिदो।

[5] *IA*., XX, pp. 310-12.

[6] *Ibid*., IX, pp. 103-17.

[7] *IA*., XX, p. 83.

the opinion of Keilhorn Hariścandra was the son of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman, a brother of Ajayavarman, who was the originator of the line to which Arjunavarman belonged.[1] The same scholar assumes that the line of Lakṣmīvarman never regarded the line of Ajayavarman as the line of legitimate rulers of Mālava. And it was perhaps due to the absence of any male heirs of Arjunavarman that the throne was occupied by Devapāla. Thus the line of Arjunavarman or more appropriately of Ajayavarman ceased to exist.

The Māndhātā grant also indicates that Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarman, continued to serve in that capacity under the new king. Likewise, Bilhaṇa, who served the previous kings, appears also to have retained the post of minister of peace and war under the new administration. This also to a certain extent indicates that the transference of power had been made peacefully or with the consent of all the members of the court of the previous king. The Jain sources, however, give no account of this event.

Jaitugideva (1239-43 A.D.): Devapāla's son Jaitugideva succeeded him. He had the viruda Bāla-Nārāyaṇa. The Jain poet Āśādhara survived Devapāla and completed his *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti* in V.E. 1292 (*c.* 1235 A.D.),[2] his *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.E. 1296 (*c.* 1239 A.D.)[3] and his *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.E. 1300 (*c.* 1243 A.D.)[4] in the time of the new king. A Jain work *Karmavipāka-ṭīkā* was also written during his reign in V.E. 1295 at Nalakacchapur. It seems that Nalakacchapur was a great centre of Jain scholars at that time.[5] No inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered. The Cirwa inscription of Samarasiṁha[6] (V.E. 1330) informs us that

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[2] Vs. 12–13, in the colophon: त्रिषष्टिस्मृति नामानं [illegible] ।
प्रमारवंशवार्धीन्दुदेवपालनृपात्मजे ॥
श्रीमज्जैतुगिदेवेऽसि स्थाम्नावन्तीनवत्यलम् ।
ग्रन्थोऽयं द्विनवद्व्येकविक्रमार्कसमात्यये ॥

[3] Vs. 20–21 in the colophon: नलकच्छपुरे श्रीमन्नेमिचैत्यालयेऽसिधत् ।
टीकेयं भव्यकुमुदचन्द्रिकेत्युदिता बुधैः ।
षण्णवद्व्येकसंख्यानविक्रमाङ्कसमात्यये ॥

[4] V. 31, in the colophon: प्रमारवंशवार्धीन्दुदेवपालनृपात्मजे ।
श्रीमज्जैतुगिदेवेऽसि स्थाम्नावन्तीनवत्यलम् ॥
नलकच्छपुरे श्रीमन्नेमिचैत्यालयेऽसिधत् ।
विक्रमाब्दशतेष्वेषा त्रयोदशसु कार्तिके ॥

[5] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 120, सम्वत् १२९५ वर्षे [illegible] श्रीनलकच्छके [illegible] राजावली [illegible] महाराजाधिराज श्रीमज्जैतुगिदेव कल्याणविजयराज्ये .... आशाधरेण [illegible] ... लिखिता ।

[6] *ASI.*, Wc., 1905, p. 12 and also in *ibid.*, 1913, p. 56.

Jaitrasiṁha Guhila (*c.* 1213-1256) fought with the Mālava king. I have elsewhere shown that the Mālava king might have been Jaitugideva, who is almost a contemporary of the Guhila Jaitrasiṁha.[1]

Jayavarman II (1256-1260 A.D.): Jaitugi was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Jayavarman II. We have one inscription of this king amongst the Jain sources. It is called Modi stone inscription, found in a Jain temple at Modi, Indore Division, Madhya Pradesh. The record is fragmentary. It is dated V.E. 1314 and refers itself to the reign of (Paramāra) Jayavarmadeva. We have two more inscriptions of his reign: one from Rāhatgadh in the Sāgar district (M.P.) dated in V.E. 1312 (*c.* 1256 A.D.) in victorious reign of Jayavarmadeva and the other Māndhātā grant dated V.E. 1317 (*c.* 1260 A.D.). The latter gives the names of his father and brother.

These inscriptions show that Jayavarman (II) ruled at Dhārā at least from V.E. 1312 to 1317 (*c.* 1256-60 A.D.).

History knows two or three more princes of this dynasty ruling later, but in the Jain sources, except Bhoja II, they find no mention.

Bhoja II: The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra tells us that the Cāhamāna prince Hammīra (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.), in the course of his *digvijaya* defeated Bhoja of Dhārā, encamped in Ujjayanī and worshipped at the temple of Mahākāla.[2] Scholars conjectured that he might be a successor of Arjunavarman II, but they did not know the exact relationship of the two. According to the Muslim chroniclers he embraced Muhammadanism.

Remarks: One thing appears from the history of the later Paramāras that even in the time of rapid succession of the kings, the literary stream of Dhārā was not disturbed and it always received the generous patronage of the kings. The scholars, in spite of political disturbances, were devoted to serve the cause of learning in its various branches. During this period scholars were honoured with high posts in the state. Religion and caste were no barriers to promotion. On account of generous patronage the state was

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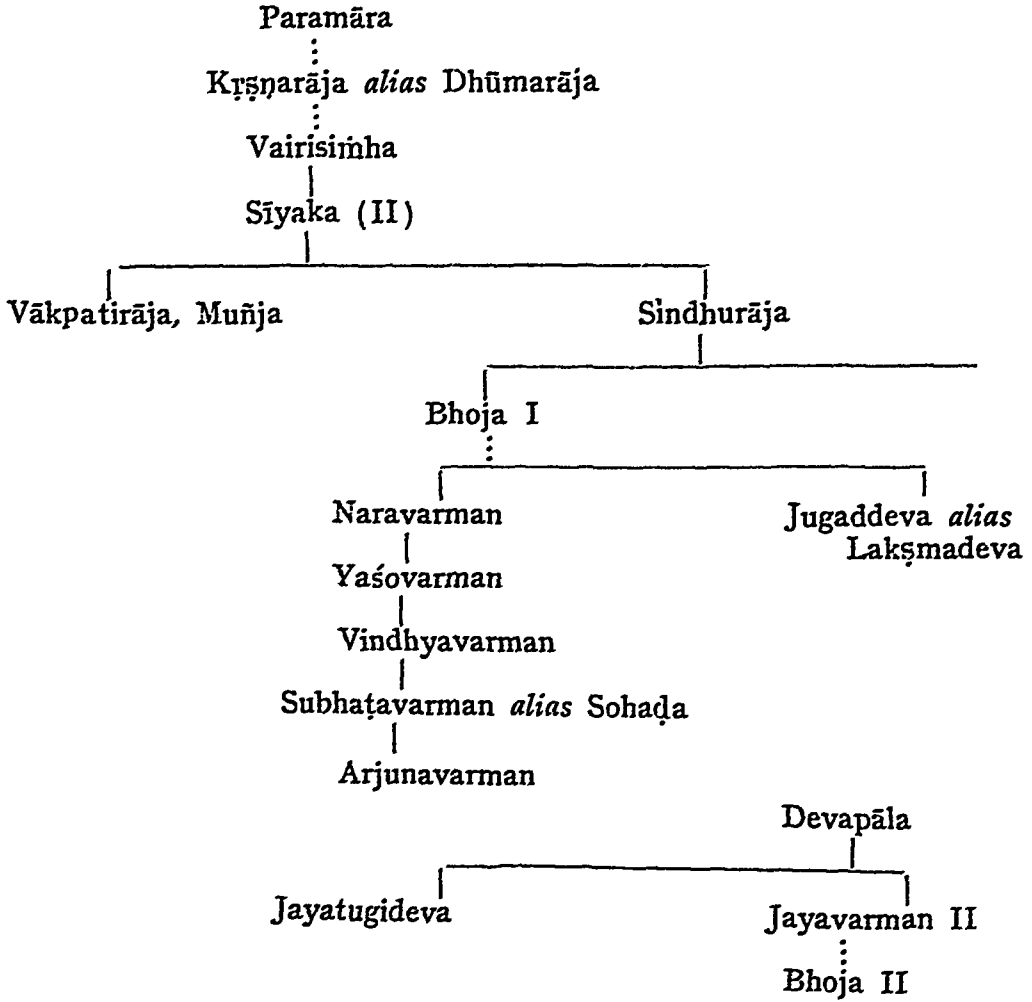
[1] See *infra*, the chapter on Guhilotas.

[2] IX, Vs. 17, 18: ततो मण्डलकृद्दुर्गात्करमादाय सत्वरम्।
यथौ धारां धरासारां वारां राशिर्महौजसां॥
परमारान्वयप्रौढो भोजो भोज इवापरः।
तत्राम्भोजमिवानेन राज्ञा म्लानिमनीयत॥

full of scholars. It was a period of glorious literary productions to which the Jains along with others contributed their share.

The following members of the Paramāra dynasty are known from the Jain sources:

CHAPTER VII

THE DYNASTIES OF RĀJASTHĀNA

THE CĀHAMĀNAS

The Jains supply valuable information about the history of Cāhamānas, though not as amply as about the history of the Paramāras already dealt with or of the Caulukyas to be traced later.

Origin: There are nearly one hundred inscriptions belonging to this family including many Jain inscriptions. Some of them throw light on the origin of this family. A Jain inscription from Bijolia dated V.E. 1226 (A.D. 1170) of the time of Pṛthvīrāja's father Someśvara, gives the genealogy of this dynasty from a Cāhamāna, the eponymous prince, born from the Sūrya-maṇḍala to whom the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of the Jain Nayacandrasūri trace the origin.[1] The Sundhā Hill inscription, composed by the Jain teacher Jayamaṅgala of Bṛhadgaccha, dated V.E. 1319, records that 'formerly there was a hero Cāhamāna, a source of joy to the great Ṛṣi Vatsa'.[2] The Bijolia inscription, after Cāhamāna, mentions one Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva and then, in the 12th verse it refers to 'a *vipra* named Sāmanta belonging to Vatsa *gotra*'.[3] Thus these two Jain inscriptions associate the one or the other member of this branch with the holy Vatsa, certainly a Vedic Ṛṣi, who was born in the Solar race of the Aryans.

This fact can also be confirmed by a number of other inscriptions of the dynasty, for instance, the Sevāḍi copper plate, dated 1119 A.D. described the originator of the Cāhamāna dynasty as belonging to Solar race of the Kṣatriyas.[4] The Jain work *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri, the grandson of the spiritual adviser of Hammīra of Raṇathambhora (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.), records the tradition as follows:

> "Once upon a time, Brahmā wandered in search of a holy place where to hold a sacrifice. The lotus which he held in his hand fell on

[1] *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 84–112, V. 10: श्री चाहमानक्षितिराजवंशः।

[2] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 70 ff. V. 4: श्रीमद्वत्समहर्षिहर्षनयनो....पृथ्वीं त्रातुमपास्त-
दैत्यतिमिरः श्रीचाहमानः पुरा।

[3] *Ibid.*, XXVI, Vs. 11–12: उत्तुङ्गपर्वतपयोधरभारभुग्ना शाकाम्भराजनि जनीव ततोऽपि विष्णोः।
विप्रः श्रीवत्सगोत्रेऽभूदहिच्छत्रपुरे पुरा।
सामन्तोऽनन्तसामन्तः पूर्णतल्ले नृपस्ततः।

[4] *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 304 ff.

the ground as if unable to bear the superior beauty of the lotus-like palm of the god.[1] The god from this circumstance regarded the spot where the lotus fell as an auspicious one, and there, freed from anxiety, commenced the sacrifice. Anticipating persecution from Dānavas, the god remembered the thousand-rayed one (the Sun), when a being, his face surrounded by a halo of radiance, came down from the orb of the Sun. Him, the destroyer, Brahmā appointed to the work of protecting the sacrifice. From that day the place where the lotus fell has been called Puṣkara and he who came down from the Sun, the Cohān."[2] "By the name of Cohān, this prince became the shoot of the family tree, served by the poets; famous in the three worlds; the bearer in abundance of human pearls. In this family rose many a monarch surrounded by a halo of glory whose lives, beautified with the triple acquisition, are able to destroy mountains of sins."[3]

A similar tale has been narrated by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* of Jayānaka, according to whom, an eponymous Cāhamāna was the originator of the dynasty.[4] Thus all the above quoted authorities more or less agree that the first member Cāhamāna of this clan comes out of the Solar orb (*Saurya-maṇḍala*).

The Jain sources do not contain the theory of the origin of *Agnikula* or Lunar race as known from other sources.[5]

The late Dr. D. R. Bhandārkar, however, put forward yet another theory of the Brahmā origin of the Cāhamānas on the basis of the Bijolia inscription noted above. He assumes that, as Sāmanta, an early Cāhamāna prince, is said to have been a *vipra* of Śrīvatsa *gotra* in the Bijolia inscription, he must have belonged to a priestly class of some foreign tribe which

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1 Canto I, Vs. 14–15: यज्ञाय पुण्यं क्वचन प्रदेशं द्रष्टुं विधातुर्भ्रमतः किलादौ।
प्रपेतिवत्पुष्करमाशु पाणेरशक्नुवद्भूतमिवास्य भासा॥
ततः शुभं स्थानमिदं विभाव्य प्रारब्ध यज्ञोऽयमपास्तदैन्यः।
निःशंक्य भीतिं दनुजव्रजेभ्यः स्मृत्वा सस्मार सहस्ररश्मेः॥

2 *Ibid.*, Vs. 16–17: अत्रान्तरे मण्डलतोऽथ भानोः पुमानुदैन्मण्डलाग्रः।
तं चाभिषिच्याध्वरणीय रक्षाविधौ व्यधादेष मखं सुखेन॥
पपात यत्पुष्करमत्र पाणेः स्थानं ततः पुष्करतीर्थमेतत्।
यश्चायमागादथ चाहमानः पुमानतोऽस्त्याख्य च चाहमानः।

3 *Ibid.*, V. 25: तदन्वया जायत चाहमानवंशस्त्रिलोकीविहितप्रशंसः।
बिभर्त् सुवर्णावलिलिख्यमान उत्पत्तिहेतुर्नरमौक्तिकानाम् etc.

4 *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 264.

5 Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān.*

afterwards merged into Kṣatriya caste by changing the priestly pursuits for martial ones. In his opinion Sāmanta was really a convert.[1]

But the term *vipra* in question is open to various interpretations. The following is the revised translation of the verse: 'A vipra named Sāmanta having numerous feudatory princes was born or descended in Vatsa *gotra* at Ahicchatrapur, after him came the prince Pūrṇatalla'.[2]

According to Mr. Karṇa, who has re-edited this inscription, the use of the term *vipra* in connection with a ruling prince decidedly of the Kṣatriya stock, is found not only in this inscription but also in many others of various ruling dynasties where the princes are sometimes called *vipra* and sometimes *mahīdeva*. In his opinion such usage has nothing to do with the origin or blood of the princes and seems to have some bearing on their divine habits which they might have acquired. Even today the application of the term *mahārāja*, undoubtedly a princely title, to a Brahmana is not infrequent.[3]

The fact that the Kṣatriyas had certain *gotras* like Vatsa, Bhāradvāja, Vaśiṣṭha etc., is very well known to the scholars. We will see elsewhere that Hemacandra mentions the Caulukyas of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.[4]

Their original seat: The 11th verse of the above inscription gives a description of Śākambharā (Śākāmbharī) the guardian deity of the Cāhamāna race, born as the mother of Viṣnu (Vāsudeva).[5] It is stated in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and *Hammīra-mahākāvya*[6] that Vāsudeva carved out his principality around the lake Śākambharā (Śāmbhara) or Puṣkaratīrtha which region is said here to have become his mother (*Janīva*) or mother-country.

Most of the scholars, on the assumption that Sāmanta was the earliest member of the family and he was born in Ahicchatrapur,[7] regard Ahicchatrapur as the original seat of the family.[8] This assumption of theirs is based only on the erroneous interpretation of the previous two verses (10 and 11 of the Bijolia record) in which Cāhamāna and Vāsudeva are recorded as the earliest members of the family and their seat as Śākambharī (modern

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[1] *IA.*, XL, p. 26.
[2] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 87.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[4] *DV.*, Canto VI, V. 7: सगूर्जरं हेतुरनेकभारद्वाजं वरो गीतगुणस्त्रिगङ्गम्।
[5] उत्तुङ्गपर्वतपयोधरभारभुग्ना शाकाम्भराजनि जनीव ततोऽपि विष्णोः।
[6] Canto III and IV: *HMK.*, I, 17: ख्यातं ततः पुष्करतीर्थमेतत्।
[7] Bijolia Inscription V. 12: विप्रः श्रीवत्सगोत्रेऽभूदहिच्छत्रपुरे पुरा।
[8] *DHNI.*, II, pp. 1053–54.

lake Sāmbhara). Moreover, we have the testimony of the two literary works noted above which without mentioning Ahicchatra, associate the rise of the Cāhamānas with the lake Śākambharī (Śāmbhara or Puṣkaratīrtha)) situated on the border of the Jodhpur and Jaipur divisions. In order to show more evidences, we have the earliest inscriptions of the tribe so far discovered, the provenance of which and the identification of some of the places mentioned therein demonstrate that the Śākambharī region was, from the very beginning, the cradle of this race.

The identification of Ahicchatrapur which is stated here[1] as the original seat of the government of Sāmanta has been also a subject of much discussion. Some scholars like Bhagavanlal Indraji and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the assumption that the original home of the Cāhamānas is also called Sapādalakṣa, are inclined to regard this word as the original Saṁskṛt of the modern word Sivālika, which is a range of hills below Dehra Dun in the Saharanpur district, U.P. and thus, according to them, this Ahicchatrapur must have been a town in that region in the upper Gangā-Jumnā Valley, from where the dynasty migrated southwards.[2] Pt. G. H. Ojha, on the evidence of an inscription, which states that Ahicchatrapur was the capital of Jāngludeśa (Jāngaladeśa), has identified it with Nāgpur (modern Nagapur in the Jodhpur division), as Nāga and Ahi being the synonymous terms.[3] In the Jain literature of the eleventh and later centuries Cāhamānas were called the kings of Jāngala. Kumārapāla, according to the *Vasanta-vilāsa,* fought with Jāngaleśa Arṇorāja.[4] This Jāngala country has been identified with the region now known as Bikaner and the northern Mārwār.

We, now, on the basis of the above facts and on the evidences gathered from the earlier inscriptions, can say that Ahicchatrapur must have been at that time in the Śākambharī-pradeśa where Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva), the predecessor of Sāmanta, had carved out his principality.

There are several branches of the Cāhamānas ruling over various places. The following branches are known from the Jain sources: (1) Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, (2) Cāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura, (3) Cāhamānas of Naḍḍula, (4) Cāhamānas of Jāvālipura and (5) Cāhamānas of Lāṭa. Except the last one all other branches ruled in Rājasthāna.

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[1] V. 11.

[2] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 89.

[3] Ojha, *Nāgarī pracāriṇī-patrikā*, Vol. II, Part III; *JASB.*, 1922, p. 289.

[4] *GOS.*, VII, Canto III, Vs. 2, 9, 32. See also *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, Canto II, V. 43.

I. CĀHAMĀNAS OF ŚĀKAMBHARĪ

We have three important sources about this dynasty in the Jain historical materials. The first is the Jain inscription from Bijolia noted above and the other two are the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri and the *Prabandha-kośa* of Rājaśekharasūri, though the literary sources are not of primary importance.

The Jain inscription from Bijolia, a village in Mewar about 100 miles from the capital (Udaipur), is the most important and peculiar inscription among hundreds of inscriptions of the Cāhamāna dynasty. Though it is a later authority dated V.E. 1226 (*c.* 1169 A.D.) of the reign of Someśvara, it, however, gives the name of 29 predecessors of Someśvara.[1] It is an almost complete and trustworthy authority over the dynasty. This inscription testifies the genealogical lists supplied by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya-mahākāvya* composed in *c.* 1200 A.D.

Cāhamāna: This is a very long inscription, but its verses from 10 to 28 only contain a genealogical list of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. From the 10th verse of this inscription, the first person appears to have been the illustrious Cāhamāna. It may be said here that almost all the scholars regard that the genealogy according to this inscription begins from Sāmanta. According to them the compound expression *'Śrī Cāhamāna Kṣitirājavaṁśa'* in the first quarter of verse 10 means *'Śrī Cāhamāna eva Kṣitirājavaṁśa"* the royal or princely dynasty known as Cāhamāna. But they forget one point in this respect that this compound should also mean *'Śrī Cāhamānasya Kṣitirājavaṁśa'* in which case the present genealogy suggests itself to start from Cāhamāna.[2] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and *Hammīra-mahākāvya* also begin this genealogy from Cāhamāna.[3]

Vāsudeva: The second person of this branch, who has been regarded as historical, is Viṣṇu[4] described in the 11th verse who, according to the other authorities, may be taken as identical with Vāsudeva.[5] The author of this inscription is said to have been fond of employing variants in the case of proper names both geographical as well as genealogical. He has evidently referred to Vāsudeva by the variant Viṣṇu. This Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva) of the

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[1] *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 84–112.
[2] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 87.
[3] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 263: *HMK.*, Canto I, V. 17. शाकम्भराजनि जनीव ततोऽपि विष्णोः।
[4] See *supra*, p. 121.
[5] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 263: *HMK.*, Canto I, V. 27.

inscription has totally escaped the attention of the scholars. The word *'tatopi'* towards the end of this verse should indicate that there a mention is made of some prince in descent from the one mentioned in the previous verse, who is undoubtedly Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva, and thus proves that Cāhamāna in the foregoing verse is used as the name of a prince and not as a mere family title. This Vāsudeva is said to have carved out a principality around the lake Śākambharā.[1] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* eulogises this prince much, but gives no historical information. The *Prabandha-kośa* assigns him the date V.E. 608 for which we have no support.[2]

Sāmanta: The second historical person appears to be Sāmanta in the 12th verse who is said to have had numerous feudatory princes.[3] This prince has been regarded as the very first ruler of the Bijolia inscription by all the scholars, but taking Cāhamāna as the first prince on this list as already discussed above, this prince may be regarded third in order of succession. He, of course, may be considered to be the first prince of this line, who, most probably, established himself on the firm ground in his ancestral land and maintained his position as a ruler. Nothing else is known of him from any other sources.

His Successors: After him came the princes Pūrṇatalla, Jayarāja, Vigrahanṛpa, Candana, Gopendraka, Durlabha, Gūvaka, Śaśinṛpa, Guvāka, Candana, Bappayarāja, Vindhyanṛpati, Siṁharāja, Vigraha, Durlabha (II) Guṇḍu and his younger brother Vīryārāma.[4]

In the 13th verse these princes are simply enumerated and no mention is made regarding the relationship of each other. The genealogical list supplied by the two Jain works the *Himmīra-mahākāvya* and the *Prabandha-kośa*, does not tally in most of the cases and the relationship and succession of these kings recorded in them cannot be taken as reliable, for they have no other epigraphical or literary support. We, however, have some information from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and Harṣa Stone inscription dated 973 A.D.,[5] regarding their relationship. Thus Jayarāja was the son of Sāmanta, Vigrahanṛpa and Candra were respectively the son and grand-son of Jayarāja, Gopendraka was the brother of Candra and

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[1] *EI.*, XXVI, pp, 84–112, V. 11.

[2] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133 : संवत् ६०८ राजा वासुदेवः ।

[3] *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 84–112, V. 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 13.

[5] *EI.*, II, pp. 116–30.

Durlabha was Candra's son, *i.e.*, Gopendraka's nephew.[1] Gopendraka of this list seems to be identical with Govindarāja of the list given by the *Prabandha-kośa,* who is said to have been a predecessor of Durlabha and to have defeated one Suratrāṇa (Sulṭan) Vegavarisa.[2]

Durlabharāja is stated in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* to have been succeeded by his son Govindarāja who is identical with Gūvaka of our inscription and of the Harṣa Stone inscription. Gūvaka was succeeded by Candrarāja whom our inscription calls Śaśinṛpa, which may be taken as synonymous with Candrarāja. His son was Gūvaka (II) who is styled in our inscription as Guvāka. He was succeeded by his son Candana who is said to have slain in the battle a Tomara prince called Rudra in the Harṣa Stone inscription. His son and successor was Vappayarāja who is styled as Vākpatirāja or Vākpati in the Harṣa Stone inscription and the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* respectively. He had a title of *Mahārāja* and put to flight one Tantrapāla according to the Harṣa Stone inscription. His successor was Vindhyanṛpati, who has not been regarded as a separate prince by scholars due to erroneous reading of the text.[3] But the text on the rock is in the dual form '*Vappayarāja-Vindhyanṛpatī*' which means two separate princes. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar assumes him as the successor of Vappayarāja.[4] Nothing is known of Vindhyanṛpatī from any sources. He had two sons Siṁharāja and Lakṣmaṇa. The younger son Lakṣmaṇa was the founder of Naḍḍūla branch of the Cāhamānas known from the Naḍol Jain copper plates (V.E. 1218).[5] Vākpati, however, was succeeded by his elder son, Siṁharāja. According to the *Prabandha-kośa's* genealogy Siṁharāja defeated Hajjī-ud-Dīn at Jethāṇa (Jethana 20 miles from Ajmer).[6] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* says that Siṁharāja killed the Musalaman general named Hātim.[7] The Harṣa Stone inscription and the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* mention him as a great warrior, and as one 'who defeated the Tomara leader together with Lavaṇa and annihilated in war the rulers in every direction'.[8]

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 265: गोविन्दराजः ।
[2] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133: सुरत्राणस्य वेगवरिसनाम्नो जेता।
[3] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 90.
[4] *IA.*, 1913. p. 58 ff.
[5] P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgrah*, I, p. 210, Vs. 2-3.
[6] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133: सिंहराजसुरत्राणस्य हेजिवदीन नाम्नो जेठाणाकविजेता।
[7] Canto I, V. 102: हत्त्वा यो युधि हेतिमं शकपतिं निर्व्याजवीरव्रतो।
[8] *EI.*, II, p. 127.

Vigraharāja II (c. 973 A.D.): Simharāja was succeeded by his son Vigraharāja II. According to the Jain prabandhas he was a contemporary of Mūlarāja Caulukya (*c.* 961-96 A.D.). We have elsewhere described a war of this king with Mūlarāja. It is stated in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that Mūlarāja was attacked simultaneously by the general Bārappa and the ruler of Śākambharī. Mūlarāja with the advice of his ministers took shelter in the fort of Kanthā.[1] According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, Vigraharāja killed Mūlarāja and devastated the country of Gujarata.[2] I have shown elsewhere that the truth lies between the two statements, that is, Mūlarāja was really defeated by him. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* also confirms this view.[3] The Harṣa Stone inscription of his reign assigns him the date V.E. 1030 (*c.* 973 A.D.).[4]

Durlabharāja: After him came his younger brother Durlabharāja. A Jain authority known as the Bijapur Stone inscription (V.E. 1053) informs us that he harassed the Naḍḍūla prince Mahendra who sought shelter with Dhavala, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of Hathuṇḍi.[5]

His Successors: He was succeeded by his son Govindarāja who is styled in the Bijolia Stone inscription as well as in the two literary sources as Gaṇḍu. The *Prabandha-kośa* credits him with a victory over Sulṭān Maḥmūd,[6] but we have no support for this statement. Govindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpati II about whom it is said in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* that he killed Āghāṭa king Āmbaprāsāda.[7] He was succeeded by his younger brother Vīryārāma who is stated by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* to have been killed by the Paramāra Bhoja—lord of Avanti (*c.* 999-1055 A.D.).[8] Dr. Bhandarkar assumes that he was one of the sons of Guṇḍu,[9] while Dr. Ray calls him the son of Vākpati.[10]

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 16.
[2] Canto II, V. 9: श्रीमूलराजं समरे निहत्य यो गूर्जरं जर्जरतामनैषीत्।
[3] See *infra*, Chap. IX, II.
[4] *EI.*, II, pp. 127 ff.
[5] *EI.*, X, pp. 17 ff. V. 11: श्रीदुर्लभराजभूभुजिभुजैर्मथ्नत्यसंगांसुतं .... श्रीमान्महेन्द्रं पुरा सेनानीरिव नीतियोगपरो नृपान्तरं निर्वृतिम्।
See also *HIG.*, III, N. 238 A., p. 237.
[6] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133, N. 16.
[7] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 268 and fn. 3, Canto V. Vs. 59–60,
[8] Canto V, 67.
[9] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 90 ff.
[10] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1069.

Vīryārāma was succeeded by his younger brother Cāmuṇḍarāja. The Bijolia inscription also ascribes him as younger brother of Vīryārāma. The word *anuja* is given for him in the end of the 13th verse. It is also suggested that the word *anuja* has also to be construed with the first word Cāmuṇḍa mentioned in the next verse.[1] Cāmuṇḍa is definitely stated in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* to be the brother of Vīryārāma.[2] He is said in the *Prabandha-kośa* to have destroyed a Sultan. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* gives the name of that Sultan as Hejama-d-dīn.

After Cāmuṇḍa, in the 14th verse, come in order Rāṇakavara Siṅghaṭ, his brother Dūsala and Vīsala. After him his son Pṛthvīrāja and thereafter his son Ajayadeva.[4]

Durlabharāja III: The name of Rāṇakavara Siṅghaṭ, we do not find elsewhere. His successor was his brother Dūsala who is called Durlabha or Durlabharāja III in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*.[5] As to whose son he was, we do not know from the present epigraph. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* calls him the son of Vīryārāma,[6] but Dr. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Cāmuṇḍa. He is here stated to be the brother of Siṅghaṭ and if he was the son of Cāmuṇḍa as Dr. Bhandarkar believes, then Singhaṭ whose relation with his predecessor is not yet known was also an elder son of Cāmuṇḍa.[7] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* states that Durlabharāja killed Karṇa in the battle[8] and the *Prabandha-kośa* relates that Dūsala having tied the king of Gujarata brought him to Ajmer and made him to sell the whey (*takraṁ*).[9] We, however, have no support for these statements. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* on the other hand attributes this war between Udayāditya of Mālava (*c.* 1059-87 A.D.) and Karṇa (*c.* 1064-94 A.D.) in

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[1] V. 14.

[2] Canto I, V. 68.

[3] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133: Canto II, V. 24: यः संगरे हेजमदीनसंज्ञं शकाधिराजं तरसा व्यधत्त।

[4] Bijolia Inscription, V. 14.

[5] Canto II, V. 25.

[6] Canto V, V. 69.

[7] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 90 ff.

[8] Canto II, V. 31: श्रीकर्णदेवं समरे विधाय तद्राज्यलक्ष्मीं परिगीतत्रान् यः।

[9] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133: तेन गुर्जरक्षत्राधिपतिर्बद्ध्वानीतः। अजयमेरुमध्ये तक्रविक्रयं कारापितः।

which Karṇa was defeated by the assistance of Vigraharāja (Visaladeva) III, the successor of Dūsala.[1]

Vigraharāja III: His successor was Vīsaladeva, who is called Vigraharāja III in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[2] and Visvala in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*.[3] The present inscription gives Rājadevī as the name of his queen.[4] According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* he killed Sihāb-ud-dīn and liberated the authority of Mālava king troubled by the Mlecchas.[5] The *Prabandha-kośa* depicts him as a lustful prince who outraged the modesty of a chaste Brāhmaṇa woman. She cursed him and he died with several sores in the body.[6]

Pṛthvīrāja I: His successor was his son Pṛthvīrāja I who is also called Bṛhat (Great) Pṛthvīrāja in the *Prabandha-kośa*.[7] His queen's name is given as Rāsalladevī in our inscription. The *Prabandha-kośa* states that he was the breaker of arms of the Sultan Vagulīshāh.[8] The only one inscription of his reign dated V.E. 1162 (*c.* 1105 A.D.) has been found in Revāsā, Jaipur division.[9]

Ajayadeva: Pṛthvīrāja was succeeded by his son Ajayarāja who is also called Ajayadeva[10] in the Bijolia inscription, Sālhaṇa in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and Ālhaṇa in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* and *Prabandha-kośa*.[11] His queen's name is recorded as Somalladevī. Our Jain record from Bijolia states that he killed three heroes, *viz.*, Cāciga, Sindhula and Yaśorāja.[12] These heroes have been associated by the learned editor of this inscription

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[1] Canto V, Vs. 76–78: [illegible] ।
[illegible] ॥
See also *infra*, on the Caulukya of Gujarata.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Canto II, V. 33.

[4] Bijolia Inscription, V. 14: [illegible] ।

[5] Canto II, V. 37.

[6] *SJGM.*, VI. p. 133: [illegible] . . . . ।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 133: 22 बृहत्पृथ्वीराजः ।

[8] *Ibid.*, [illegible] ।

[9] *ASI.*, Wc., 1909–10, p. 52.

[10] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 93, V. 14: [illegible] ।

[11] *PV.*, Canto V. 83: *HK.*, Canto II, V. 41; *SJGM.*, VI. p. 133.

[12] V. 15: [illegible] ।
[illegible] ॥

with localities of Śrīmārgga and Durdda noted in this inscription. According to him Śrīmārgga is the variant of Śrīpatha which has been identified by Fleet with modern Bayānā in the Bharatapur district, and Durdda may be identified with modern Duddai or Dudhai in the Central India.[1] It seems from the identifications of the localities that Ajayadeva must have defeated these heroes in his northward and eastward campaigns. The word '*Vīra*' (Hero) shows probably that they did not belong to any of the principal ruling families, but may have been feudatories of an inferior rank of some one of them. This record also refers to his other achievements which states that Ajayadeva captured in battle Sulhana, the commander-in-chief of the army, and tied him to a camel in the field of battle.[2] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* also confirms this fact by stating that Ajayarāja defeated Sulhaṇa, the king of Mālava.[3] As we know there was no king ruling in Mālava during this period, scholars assume that he might have been a general of that name of the then Paramāra prince, possibly Naravarman (1094-1133 A.D.) ruling over Mālava.[4] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Prabandha-kośa* regard him as the founder of the city of Ajayameru, now known as Ajmer.[5]

Ajayadeva may be regarded as the first powerful king of this lineage who took the initiative in enlarging his kingdom and carving out a path for his descendants for further expansion. He had also issued silver and copper coins which bore the legend of Śrī Somalādevī, a variant of the name of Ajayadeva's queen Somalladevī mentioned in our inscription.

Arṇorāja (*c.* 1139-1153 A.D.): Arnorāja as the son of Ajayadeva succeeded his father. We have fortunately one colophon of the Jain MS named *Āvaśyakasūtra-niryukti* of his reign, dated V.E. 1198 (1142 A.D.).[6] This may be connected with his early reign. It gives him the titles *Samasta-rājāvalī-samalaṅkṛta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*, which shows him a powerful king from the very beginning of his reign. He seems to have been a great warrior. The 16th verse of the Bijolia Jain record highly eulogises him and the next verse refers to his victory over certain

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1 *EI.*, XXVI, p. 93.

2 V. 15: श्रीमत्सोल्लणदण्डनायकवरः संग्रामरंगांगणे।
जीवन्नेव नियन्त्रितः करभके येन....क्षिसात् ॥

3 *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 272.

4 *EI.*, XXVI, p. 93.

5 *SJGM.*, VI. p. 133. अजयराजः अजयमेरुदुर्गकारापकः।

6 *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 105.

kingdoms. In the first half of it, we are informed that this prince resorted to retaliation against the kingdoms of Kuśa and Vāraṇa.[1] Kuśa as the name of a kingdom, may denote Kuśasthala of Kanauj. Vāraṇa is the well-known ancient name of Bulandaśahara near Delhi.[2] The identification of these two places shows that he extended his dominion farther eastwards from Duddai and northwards from Bayānā, the two places already occupied by his father noted above.

The next half of the verse informs us that Arṇorāja had shown disrespect to one who was called Nirvāṇa Nārāyaṇa and thus brought him to humiliation.[3] Nirvāṇa Nārāyaṇa as we already know was the epithet of the Paramāra prince Naravarman (1094-1133 A.D.) who was a contemporary of both Ajayadeva and Arṇorāja. He has been referred to in the concluding portion of the verse by name Devarāja, because he also has been called Nirvāṇa Nārāyaṇa. Consequently he was looked upon as Devarāja, lord of gods.[4] Arṇorāja might have attacked and subdued him either independently or he might have assisted his father-in-law Siddharāja Jayasiṁha who waged war against Naravarman in order to avenge himself of the latter's attack on his capital when he was on a pilgrimage to Somanāth. The fact has already been referred to elsewhere.[5]

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that Jayasiṁha Caulukya gave back Sapādalakṣa with several lacs to humbled Āṇāka king.[6] The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* simply states that Āṇa of Sapādalakṣa bent his head before the Caulukya Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.).[7] The *Kīrti-kaumudī* confirms the fact by stating that Jayasiṁha differed from Viṣṇu in this respect, that while Viṣṇu conquered Arṇorāja (Ocean) and took his daughter Lakṣmī, Siddharāja Jayasiṁha conquered Arṇorāja (king of Ajmer) but gave his own daughter to him in marriage.[8] The commentator of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* refers to the name of his daughter as Kāncanadevī.[9] This marriage

[1] V. 17: यत्रार्च्यं कुशवारणं प्रतिकृतं गजांकुशेन स्वयम् ।

[2] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 93.

[3] V. 17: तच्चित्रं प्रतिभासते सुकृतिना निर्वाणनारायण-
न्यक्कारप्रचरणेन मंगरूणं श्रीदेवराजं प्रति ॥

[4] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 94.

[5] See *supra* pp. 110–111, Chapter on the Paramāras of Mālava

[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 76: सपादलक्षः सहभूरिलक्षैरानाकभूपाय नताय दत्तः ।

[7] *DV.*, Canto XVI, V. 20 and XVIII, V. 103.

[8] Canto II, Vs. 27–29, p. 11.

[9] *PV.* p. 198.

was regarded by the scholars as a matrimonial alliance to end the hostility between the two neighbouring dynasties.

The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* and the subsequent Jain works record that the hostilities with the Caulukyas seems to have broken out afresh with the accession of Kumārapāla. This war has been referred to in detail elsewhere.[1] The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* mentions that Arṇorāja brought peace by giving his daughter Jalhaṇā to Kumārapāla.[2]

The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* states that he also completely vanquished the Musalmans (Mātaṅgas) who came across the desert and in order to purify the place where the Musalmans had fallen, the king constructed a lake and filled it with the river Candra.[3] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* calls him Ānala and says that he dug a tank, a merit to the forest of Puṣkara.[4]

Arṇorāja's successors: The Bijolia inscription mentions Vigraharāja as a son and successor of Arṇorāja[5] but he does not seem to be an immediate successor of his father. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* refers to Sudhavā, the queen of Arṇorāja, giving birth to three sons, who were different from one another as the three *Guṇas (sattva, rajas, tamas)*. The name of the first son is, however, not mentioned there. The poet simply states about him that he rendered to his father the same service as Bhṛgu's son Paraśurāma had rendered to his mother and went out like the wick of a lamp leaving behind an evil smell.[6] This denotes that the eldest son must have killed his father. His name seems to be Jagadeva as referred to by the two Jain works *Hammīra-mahākāvya* and *Prabandha-kośa* which mention him as the successor of Ānaladeva and predecessor of Vīsaladeva (Vigraharāja IV).[7] He must have occupied the throne for some time. Except his eulogy nothing else is mentioned about him in the Jain works. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vigraharāja.

Vigraharāja (1153-1164 A.D.): The inscriptions of Jagadeva's reign show that he ruled from V.E. 1210 to 1220.[8] The colophon of a

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1 See *infra*, Chapter on the Caulukya of Gujarata.
2 *DV.*, Canto, XIX, Vs. 1-60.
3 *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 274.
4 Canto II, V. 51.
5 *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 84-112, V. 18.
6 *PV.*, Canto VI, pp. 197 ff.; *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 274.
7 Canto II, V. 52; *SJGM.*, VI, p. 113.
8 *DHNI.*, II, pp. 1074-76.

Jain MS named *Upadeśapada-ṭīkā,* dated V.E. 1212, informs us that the work was composed in the prosperous reign of *"Samastarājāvalīvirājita-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja Vigraharājadeva."*[1] This shows that he was a powerful monarch. Our Bijolia inscription ascribes to him a number of campaigns which he won. The verses from 20 to 22 refer to his victories thus:

> "Sajjana, the only wicked person on earth, took his way towards the home of Kṛtānta (the god of death): and Kuntapāla, the keeper of lance, came to a state of utter lancelessness. He due to his resentment made Jāvālipur, the city of flames; Pallikā, an insignificant village; and Naḍḍula like a bed of reeds. He made his fame to take rest on each street of towns and on each roof of dwellings, which was fatigued due to the capture of Dhillikā and was lagging behind owing to the acquisition of Āsikā."[2]

Sajjana of the above description has been identified with the *daṇḍādhipati* Sajjanah, governor of Saurāṣṭra in the time of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. This reminds one of the hostility between Kumārapāla and Vigraharāja, who must have avenged the defeat of his father Arṇorāja by Kumārapāla noted above, by killing the governor Sajjana, who was quite old at that time.[3] Kuntapāla has been identified with the Paramāra prince of Kirāḍu by that name, whom, according to the *Mahanota Naiṇisi,* Kīrtipāla, son of Ālhaṇa, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, defeated.[4] Kuntapāla was thus a contemporary of Ālhaṇa and Vigraharāja. Vigraharāja is said to have burnt his city Jāvālipur (Jallor). Pallikā of the inscription is identical with modern Pālī in Jodhpur.[5] Naḍḍūla is modern Naḍola which at that time was a capital of the Cāhamāna prince Ālhaṇa, a feudatory of Kumārapāla.[6] His allegiance to Kumārapāla must have caused the indignation to Vigraharāja who devastat-

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[1] *SJGM.,* XXIII, p. 107.

[2] कृतान्तपथसज्जोऽभूत् सज्जनो दुर्जनो भुवः ।
वैकुतं कुन्तपालोऽप्याप्तो वै कुन्तपालकः ॥
जावालिपुरं ज्वालापुरं कृता पल्लिकापि पल्लीव ।
नड्वलतुल्यं रोषान्नड्डूलं येन शौर्येण ॥
प्रतोल्यां च वलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः ।
ढिल्लिकाग्रहणश्रान्तमाशिकालाभलम्भितम् ॥

[3] *EI.,* XXVI, p. 94; see also *supra* p. 133.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 94.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See *infra,* Chapter on the Caulukyas of Gujarata.

ed Nāḍol. Dhillikā is modern Delhi and Āsikā is identical with modern Hansi. Both were the cities of Tomara prince Anaṅgapāla III ruling at that time.[1] This last conquest reminds us that Vigraharāja aimed at completing the victory over northern part of his territory, started by his grandfather Ajayadeva and successfully carried out by his father Arṇorāja. From the other records we know that he was a paramount sovereign ruling over the whole of Hindustan lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya.[2] Our inscription has revealed as to how he actually gained the paramountcy. By this extension he naturally came into contact and conflict with the Yaminis of Gazani and the Punjab. The *Prabandha-kośa* regards him as a conqueror of the Turuṣkas.[3]

Vigraharāja was also a man of letters. He wrote a drama entitled *Harakeli.* His court poet Somadeva also wrote a drama, *Lalitavigraharāja,* about him describing his love affairs. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* calls him *Kavi-bāndhava.*[4]

Pṛthvīrāja II: The Bijolia inscription states that Vigraharāja was succeeded by his elder brother's son, Pṛthvīrāja (II). But the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and the Jain work *Prabandha-kośa* mention Apara or Amara Gāṅgeya as the son and successor of Vigraharāja,[5] young and unmarried. Thus the throne passed on to Pṛthvīrāja. The *Prabandha-kośa* gives his other name Pānthaḍadeva.[6] According to Bijolia inscription he was very charitable, and donated a village named Morajharī to Pārśvanātha, the erection of whose temple the Bijolia inscription records.[7] From his inscriptions we get his period from V.E. 1224 to 1226 (1167-1169 A.D.).[8]

Someśvara (1170-77 A.D.): Pṛthvīrāja, son of Jagadeva, was succeeded by his third uncle Someśvara, whom we know from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*'s commentary, as a son of Arṇorāja from his queen Kāñcanadevī the daughter of the Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. Canto VII of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* describes that Kumārapāla, the nephew of Jayasiṁha, made his name significant by bringing up the Kumāra (young) Someśvara.

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[1] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 94.
[2] *IA.*, XIX, pp. 215–19, Delhi Siwalika Pillar inscription.
[3] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133 · वीसलदेवः तुरुष्कजित् ।
[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 90.
[5] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 276; *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133.
[6] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 134.
[7] Vs. 23–25.
[8] *DHNI.*, II, pp. 1078–80.

Kumārapāla always kept Someśvara near himself. Someśvara with his own sword cut off the head of the Rājā of Koṅkaṇa during Kumārapāla's invasion of that country. Someśvara married Karpūradevī, daughter of the king of Tripurī.[1] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* also mentions this marriage.[2] From them were born the princes Pṛthvīrāja and Harirāja. After the death of Pṛthvīrāja II the ministers brought him to the Sapādalakṣa country and placed him on the throne.[3] The Bijolia epigraph also appears to support the fact of passing his youth in the Caulukya court by saying that he obtained his paternal kingdom through the grace of Someśvara[4] (*Someśvarāllabdha-rājyaḥ*), the famous god in Saurāṣṭra, who was the tutelary deity of the Caulukya princes. This inscription, however, does not mention any political event of his reign except that he earned through valour the *viruda* of Pratāpalaṅkeśvara and that he with a desire to gain heaven endowed Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Revā with a village named Revaṇā in *Śāsana* (absolute charity).[5] It is worth noticing that this prince as well as his predecessor both donated a village each to this god. The Bijolia inscription is dated in the year V.E. 1226 when the erection of the temple was finished. It was perhaps the first year of the reign of Someśvara. Thus, Pṛthvīrāja II's donation must have been made when the image was already installed and his successor Someśvara made his donation when the deity was enshrined in the temple.[6]

We know about the duration of his reign from his inscriptions which extend from V.E. 1226 to 1234 (*c.* 1169-1177 A.D.), but the *Prabandha-kośa* mentions V.E. 1236 (A.D. 1179) as the date of accession of his son and successor Pṛthvīrāja.[7] He, therefore, might have ruled upto that year.

Pṛthvīrāja III (1179-1192 A.D.): The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* says: "So before leaving this world he (Someśvara) had appointed the Devī or the queen (Karpūradevī) to protect his son in his childhood."[8] This shows that Pṛthvīrāja was minor at the time of the death of Someśvara. According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, when Pṛthvīrāja had acquired proficiency in

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 275.
[2] Canto II, V. 72.
[3] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 275.
[4] V. 26.
[5] V. 27.
[6] V. 28.
[7] *SJGM.*, I, p. 134: पृथ्वीराजः सं० १२३६ राज्यम्।
[8] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 277.

letters and arms, Someśvara installed him on the throne and himself retiring from the world died in the practice of the Yoga.[1]

His inscriptions give us dates from V.E. 1236 to 1245 (*c.* 1179-1189), but the two Jain works, the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* and the *Prabandha-kośa,* state that this hero died in V.E. 1248 (1192 A.D.).[2] The period, therefore, may be assigned to him from V.E. 1236 to 1248.

The Jain sources have recorded only two of his struggles, the one with the Candella king Paramardi and the other with Sihāb-ud-dīn Ghorī.

The *Prabandha-cintāmani* states that he defeated the king Paramardi and made him fugitive.[3] We have shown elsewhere that this statement of the Jain author has been corroborated by the Madanpur inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja which state that he had invaded and plundered a large portion of the Candella territory beyond the Betwa.[4] The Jain prabandhas also refer to the enmity between Pṛthvīrāja and Jayacandra but they have not stated any cause behind it.[5]

The war with the Sultan of Gazani is amply described by the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states:

> "Pṛthvīrāja repulsed from his city thrice seven times the king of the Mlecchas, but nevertheless that very king came for the twenty-second time to the capital of Pṛthvīrāja and encamped there with his formidable army." It is said that a hero by name Tuṅga entered the camp of the enemy through a stratagem, killed the enemy and caused his army to be fled. It is further stated that the son of that Mleccha king remembering his father's feud invaded the Sapādalakṣa country but he was driven away and Pṛthvīrāja went in pursuit of him. A minister named Someśvara tried to dissuade him, but the king, erroneously supposing that he favoured the enemy, cut off his ears. Someś

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[1] Canto II, V. 77.

[2] *SJGM.*, X, p. 45 : जावव्वारहसय अडयाले (१२४८) विक्कमाइच्च संवच्छरे चाहुआण कुलपइये सिरिपुहविरायनरिंदे सुरत्ताणसाहवदीणेण निहणं। *Ibid.*, VI, p. 134., वीरः १२४८ मृतः।

[3] See *supra* p. 69 ; Merutuṅga, in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, makes confusion between Paramardi, who is identical with the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI of the Daccan, and the king of this name of the Candella dynasty. He associates Paramardi with Siddharāja Jayasiṁha in one place, and connects him with Pṛthvīrāja elsewhere. (*SJGM.*, I, p. 116).

[4] *ASR.*, XX, No. 9, and XXI.

[5] See *supra*, p. 50 Chapter on the Gāhaḍavālas.

vara was incensed against that king on account of that cruelty and called the Mlecchas to invade the country of Sapādalakṣa. This time Pṛthvīrāja was captured and taken away to the Mleccha country. He then was put to death by cutting off his head with an axe.[1]

The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* states:

"Pṛthvīrāja was ruling at Yoganīpur (Delhi): he had a spearman named Pratāpasiṁha and the minister Kainvāsa (Kadambavāsa). Both of them were on hostile terms. Once the king of Turuṣkas at Garjanaka (Gazanī), in hostility with Pṛthvīrāja, invaded Yoganīpur. He, however, was captured alive by Pṛthvīrāja but through the order of the mother of Pṛthvīrāja he was released. Pratāpasiṁha, the spearman, used to go to Gazanī to realise the taxes levied over it. Once he distributed the coins of gold among the destitutes in the name of ill-stars of the king Pṛthvīrāja. By this and other acts he became very favourite to Pṛthvīrāja. In order to avenge the enmity with minister Kainvāsa he falsely complained to the king that this minister every now and then calls the Turuṣkas to attack us. Thereupon, the king wanted to kill the minister but he failed in his attempt. This plot, however, became known to the bard named Candabaliddika. The bard. by means of two stanzas, tried to show the higher qualities of the minister Kainvāsa, but the king did not heed. He dismissed the services of the minister and expelled the bard. Then a new minister was appointed. The king had imprisoned a nephew of Pratāpasiṁha whom he did not release. Pratāpasiṁha, thereupon, called upon the Sultan to invade the land of Pṛthvīrāja. At one occasion he suddenly attacked him and killed many Cāhamāna heroes. Pṛthvīrāja fled away mounted on his horse named Naṭārambha, but he was caught while escaping. Fettered he was brought before the Sultan at Yoganīpur (then in the possession of Sultan) and was asked what he would do if he should set him free. He told that he had released him (Sultan) seven times; he may. therefore. be set free for one time. This request, however, was rejected. At certain occasion, Pṛthvīrāja. in the same condition, planned to kill Sultan: he, however, failed and contrary to this he was with great cruelty put to death by Sultan in V.E. 1246.[2]

The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* relates a long story of this battle:

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 116–118.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 116–118.

"The kings of the west suffering greatly at the hands of Sihāb-ud-dīn came to Pṛthvīrāja headed by Govindarāja. They reported the matter of the harassment at the hand of Sihāb-ud-dīn who had destroyed the kings, pillaged and burnt most of their cities, defiled their women and reduced them altogether to a miserable plight. Sihāb-ud-dīn had, at that time, established his capital at Multan.

Pṛthvīrāja, filled with anger, set out for Multan with an efficient army. In the battle which ensued Pṛthvīrāja took Sihāb-ud-dīn captive. He obliged the haughty Muhammadan on his knees to ask forgiveness. Then he allowed him to go free to Multan.

Sihāb-ud-dīn, though not ill-treated, felt bitterly mortified at the defeat he had sustained. Seven times after this he advanced on Pṛthvīrāja to avenge his defeat, each time with greater preparations than before, but each time was signally defeated by Pṛthvīrāja.

Eight times he invaded with the aid of the king of Ghaṭaika (modern Kumberi) and at once captured Delhi. The inhabitants were panic-stricken and fled from the city in every direction. Pṛthvīrāja at that time was surprised, but, elated with his former victories, encountered the enemy with small force. This time Sihāb-ud-dīn won over from their allegiance, the king's master of the horse and the royal musicians, with promises of large sums of money. He then sent a large number of his Muhammadans secretly to the enemy's camp, who entered it early in the morning. All was now uproar and confusion in the king's camp.

While the king's followers were thus preparing to meet their assailants, the disloyal master of the king's horse, as advised by his seducers, saddled and brought forth a horse styled Nāṭyārambha (leader of the dance) and when the king had mounted the musicians began to play upon their instruments tunes that were the king's favourites. At this the royal horse began to dance proudly. The king was diverted with this performance for a time and forgot the all-important business of the moment.

The Muslims took advantage of this opportunity and made a vigorous attack. The Rajputs under these circumstances could do little. Seeing this, Pṛthvīrāja alighted from his horse and came on the ground With the sword in his hand he cut down many Muslims. Meanwhile a Muslim, taking the king unawares, threw from behind his bow round his neck and drew the king prostrate to the ground, while others bound him captive. From this time the royal captive refused all food and rest.

Pṛthvīrāja, before he set out to encounter Sihāb-ud-dīn, had commanded Udayarāja to follow him to attack the enemy. Udayarāja reached the battlefield just about the time when Pṛthvīrāja had been taken as captive. Udayarāja, at last, laid siege to the city of Yoginīpur and set before the gates for a whole month fighting day and night. One day during the siege, it was suggested to Sihāb-ud-dīn that he should release Pṛthvīrāja for once, who had several times taken him captive and then dismissed him with honours. Sihāb-ud-dīn was not pleased with this idea, and ordered that Pṛthvīrāja should be taken into the fortress. Pṛthvīrāja, a few days after this, breathed his last and went to heaven. Udayarāja with all his followers died fighting.[1]

How far these descriptions of the war given by the Jain writers are correct, we have no documentary evidences or other literary sources to corroborate. At any rate, some of the facts narrated therein have really something to their support.

The minister Kainvāsa is certainly an historical person as he is identical with Kadambavāsa mentioned in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*.[2] Candabaliddika was the famous court bard of Pṛthvīrāja who is supposed to have been the writer of the famous bardic poem *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. The two stanzas (in Apabhraṁśa) spoken by him in the praise of Kainvāsa are found in the present *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* with slight changes, which also indicate that a pretty good portion of the present *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* must have been composed in those early days.[3]

To the fact that Sihāb-ud-dīn made several invasions, in number twenty-one or seven, we have no contemporary evidences, but the fact that he invaded once before the final battle was fought, is proved by the testimony of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, which states that due to the skill of Kadambavāsa, the minister, the Ghori has been vanquished without any imperial effort.[4] The Muslim accounts also support that in the first battle the Sultān-i-Ghāzī was wounded by Govindarāi of Delhi and that he returned to Ghazni chased by the victorious Cāhamānas.[5] He, however, in the last battle, fought in A.H. 588 (A.D. 1192) came with completely reorganised forces. Rai Pithora, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and

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[1] Canto III, Vs. 1–72.
[2] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 277.
[3] *SJGM.*, II, Introduction, pp. 8–9.
[4] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 280.
[5] *Ṭabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I, pp. 475–76.

fled from the field until, in the neighbourhood of the Sarsuti, he was taken prisoner and they despatched him to hell, and Govindarāi of Delhi was slain in the engagements. The seat of government, Ajmer, with the whole of the territory, such as Hansi, Sarsuti and other tracts, was subjugated.[1]

We have no evidence that Pṛthvīrāja was ruling at that time at Yoginīpur (Delhi), but Delhi was, no doubt, under his dominion.

The battle was fought, according to the Jain sources, in the year V.E. 1248,[2] a fact which finds support from the Muslim sources too. They record the year 588 H. corresponding to A.D. 1292 (V.E. 1248).

The manner in which Pṛthvīrāja ended his life also finds support from the Muslim sources. According to the *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir*, he appears to have been taken prisoner but managed to obtain his release or at least immunity from punishment. But on account of his ancient hatred against the Muslims, he appears to have been detected in some intrigues. Orders were, therefore, issued for his death; the sword severed his head from his body.[3]

We find some of the copper coins with the legend Prthvīrājadeva on one side and Sultan Muhammad Sām on the other which would suggest that Pṛthvīrāja might have remained for some time as a captive or vassal of Sihāb-ud-dīn, and during that period he must have got time for intrigue.

This war practically annihilated the fortunes of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.

Harirāja (1193-1195 A.D.): The *Prabandha-kośa* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* state that Pṛthvīrāja was succeeded by Harirāja.[4] According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* Harirāja was the brother of Pṛthvīrāja. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* says that when Harirāja learnt the sad news of the death of Pṛthvīrāja his sorrow knew no bounds. With tears gushing from the eyes, he performed the funeral ceremonies for the deceased monarch and then ascended the throne. It is further stated that he was a lustful man. He spent most of his time among dancing girls. Most of his revenues were squandered on musicians and dancers and nothing was left to pay the salaries of the servants of the state, who naturally were disgusted with the king and his manners. His subjects were dissatisfied. At last he was attacked by Sihāb-ud-dīn. As a last resort, Harirāja determined to perform the

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1 *Ibid.*, pp. 465–69.
2 *SJGM.*, X, p. 45 : *Ibid.*, VI, p. 134, See *supra*, p. 137.
3 Elliot, II, p. 214– 15.
4 *SJGM*, VI, p. 134; *HMK.*, Canto III, V. 74.

Śāka. He gathered together all the members of his family, and ascended the funeral pile along with them and so went to the other world.[1]

The Tantoli image inscription discovered in the estate of the same name, in the district of Ajmer dated V.E. 1251 (*c.* 1194 A.D.) in the reign of Harirāja,[2] shows the correctness of the tradition recorded by the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra.

The *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir* of Hasan Nizāmī says that in A.D. 1193 Harirāja drove out Pṛthvīrāja's son (Govindarāja) from the throne of Ajmer on which Sihāb-ud-dīn had placed him after Pṛthvīrāja's death and not only proclaimed his independence but also advanced towards Delhi to recover it from Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak. It was in A.D. 1199 that Harirāja was finally defeated and Ajmer was annexed by Qutb-ud-dīn.[3]

II. THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF RAṆATHAMBHOR

Govindarāja: The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* states that after the death of Harirāja, his followers resolved to abandon the country and go and live under the protection of Govindarāja, the son of Pṛthvīrāja who, after his exile from the kingdom by his father. had acquired a new kingdom through his valour and established his capital at Raṇathambhor.[4] We have already seen from the Muslim account that it was Harirāja who drove out Pṛthvīrāja's son from the throne of Ajmer,[5] which is, most probably, a fact.

The above statement shows the Raṇastambhapur branch of the Cāhamānas was established by Govindarāja after the death of Harirāja. Nothing is known of him from any sources. The *Prabandha-kośa* refers to his another name Rājadeva.[6]

Bālhaṇa: After Govindarāja. Bālhaṇa succeeded to the throne, says the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*. The *Prabandha-kośa* also confirms it.[7] Bālhaṇa had two sons. Prahlāda, the elder, and Vāgbhaṭa, the younger. Bālhaṇa ruled for some time as a feudatory of Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish. The fact has

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[1] Canto III, Vs. and Canto IV, Vs. 1–19.

[2] *RMR.*, 1911–12, pp. 2, 5.

[3] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 268, fn. 16; *EI.*, XIX, p. 47.

[4] Canto IV, Vs. 20–26.

[5] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1093, fn. 5.

[6] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 134.

[7] Canto IV, Vs. 32; *SJGM.*, VI, p. 134.

been corroborated by the Manglānā stone inscription dated V.E. 1272 (1215 A.D.).[1] According to the *Prabandha-kośa* his title was Bābarīyāla.[2]

Prahlāda: Prahlāda was a just king. He ruled mildly; his subjects were contented. He was very fond of hunting lions and he died too in that venture.[3] The *Prabandha-kośa*, however, does not record his name.

Vīranārayaṇa and *Vāgbhaṭa*: Vīranārāyaṇa, the son of Prahlāda, succeeded Prahlāda. It is stated that from his very childhood he was naughty and unmanageable. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* refers to a war between him and the Muslim prince Jalāl-ud-dīn at the time of the former's marriage; but neither party obtained success. After some time Jalāl-ud-dīn determined to entrap him into his power by a stratagem and he succeeded. Before any event took place, there was some misunderstanding between Vīranārāyaṇa and his uncle Vāgbhaṭa, and, thereupon, the latter left the place and departed for Mālava. Jalāl-ud-dīn availed of the opportunity, invited Vīranārāyaṇa at Yoginīpur and received him with great pomp and show. After a few days' hospitality, however, the prince was poisoned and he died. The Muslim prince captured Raṇathambhor and sent a message to the king of Mālava to kill Vāgbhaṭa but Vāgbhaṭa discovered the plot. He murdered the king of Mālava and with the assistance of the Rājputas and Kharpūras (a Mangol tribe) attacked and captured Raṇathambhor.[4]

It was Vāgbhaṭa's policy to station large forces at different posts along the frontier and thus to keep off his enemies. He died after a happy reign of twelve years.[5]

Some scholars identify this Jalāl-ud-dīn of Yoginīpur mentioned in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, with Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), whose officers, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, took the impregnable fort in 623 A.H. (1226 A.D.).[6] This assumption is also confirmed by the Jain work *Prabandha-kośa* which states that Vīranārāyaṇa died in the war with the Turuṣka Samasadīn (Samus-ud-dīn.)[7] Nothing is known about the prince of Mālava who was killed by Vāgbhaṭa for the history of that region during

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[1] *IA.*, 1912, pp. 85-88.

[2] p. 134.

[3] *HMK.*, Canto IV, Vs. 43-72.

[4] Canto IV, Vs. 72-126.

[5] *Ibid.*, V. 129.

[6] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1095.

[7] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 134: वीरनारायणः तुरुष्क समसदीन युद्धे मृतः ।

the last quarter of the 13th century is extremely obscure. The fact that Vāgbhaṭa was really a ruler of Raṇathambhor is proved by the Balvan stone inscription of Hammīra, the last Cāhamāna prince of this line.[1] The *Prabandha-kośa* and the Muslim Chronicles mention his name as Bāhaḍadeva.[2] The Jain sources are not aware of his war with Ulugh Khān recorded by the Muslim Chronicles.[3]

Jaitrasiṁha: The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* and the *Prabandha-kośa* state that Jaitrasiṁhadeva succeeded his father, Vāgbhaṭa.[4] No political event of his period is recorded in the Jain sources. His queen's name was Hīrādevī.[5] From her he had three sons Hammīra, Suratrāṇa and Vīrama.[6] All of them were great warriors. In course of time, finding that his sons were now able to relieve him from the burden of government, Jaitrasiṁha one day talked over the matter with Hammīra and after giving him excellent advice as to how he was to behave, he gave over the charge of the state to him and himself went to live in the forest.[7] This happened in *Saṁvat* 1339 (A.D. 1283).[8]

Hammīradeva (1283-1301 A.D.): The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* records that Hammīra ascended the throne in V.E. 1339 (A.D. 1283) and died in the 18th year of his reign (A.D. 1301),[9] while the *Prabandha-kośa* mentions V.E. 1342 (A.D. 1286) as the year of his accession to the throne and V.E. 1358 (1301 A.D.) the year of his death in the battle.[10] The *Ta'rikh-i-Alāī* also gives the date of his death as A.H. 700 (1301 A.D.).[11] From his Balvan stone inscription we, however. get the date V.E. 1345 (1289 A.D.).[12]

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[1] *EI.*, XIX, p. 49., V. 6.

[2] *SJGM.*, VI. p. 134. बाहडदेवः म्लेच्छसेना ।

[3] Eliiot, Vol. II, pp. 370–71.

[4] Canto IV, V. 131; *SJGM.*, VI, p 134.

[5] *Ibid.*, V. 133.

[6] *Ibid*, Vs. 148–159.

[7] Canto VIII, Vs. 72–105, 106.

[8] *Ibid.*, V, 56. ततश्च नन्दत्रिवह्निविधुमृद्वायने माघवलक्षपक्षे ।
पौष्यां तिथौ हेलिदिने सपुष्ये दैवज्ञनिर्दिष्टवरेऽभिलग्ने ॥

[9] Introductory, p. 47.

[10] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 134: संवत् १३४२ राज्यं । १३५८ युद्धे मृतः ।

[11] Ed., by M. Habib, Bombay, 1931.

[12] *EI.*, XIX, pp. 45–52.

The *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, which has been composed after the name of this hero, gives an extensive description of his conquests as follows:—

"He first came in conflict with Rājā Arjuna of Sarasapura and defeating him reduced to submissiion."[1] This war is corroborated by his Balwan inscription noted above. Then in a series of wars he subjugated the princes of Gādhamaṇḍala, Bhoja of Dhārā, the king of Medapāṭa, the king of Abu, Tribhuvanadeva of Kankroli.[2] We, however, have no support for this statement. During these expeditions he visited several holy places like Ujjain where he worshipped Mahākāla; Abu where he worshipped Ṛṣabhadeva and paid his devotion to Acaleśvara; Puṣkara where he worshipped Ādivarāha. He plundered the cities of his enemies and recovered from them many rich gifts.

After having accomplished these biilliant successes Hammīra returned to his capital and was received pompously by his officers.[3]

After some days he performed a sacrifice called the *Koṭi Yajña* and sumptuously feasted the Brāhmanas and gave them handsome *dakṣiṇās*. To crown all these religious performances he observed *munivrata* for a whole month.[4]

In the meantime Allāvadīna (Alā-ud-dīn), the ruler of Delhi, ordered his younger brother Ulugh Khān to invade the land of Cāhamānas, on the plea that Hammīra had ceased to pay the tribute, which his father used to pay.[5] According to same authority Hammīra was attacked three times by that Muslim king. In the first battle, Hammīra's able generals repulsed the attack of the enemy near the Hindāvata pass, but Bhīmasiṁha, one of the two generals of Hammīra, was wounded, and killed.[6] Hammīra, when he heard of the death of his general Bhīmasiṁha, punished another general Dharmasiṁha for deserting him and made him blind. Dismissing him from the service he appointed a person by name Bhoja for that post.[7] Then began the dissensions and treachery in the Cāhamāna court. Rādhādevi, a courtesan, played a part to restore Dharmasiṁha to his former post.[8] Neglected in many ways, Bhoja joined

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[1] Canto IX, Vs. 15, 16.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vs. 17–47.
[3] *Ibid.*, V. 52.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vs. 77–99.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vs. 100–103.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vs. 106–149.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vs. 151–154.
[8] *Ibid.*, 155–174.

the Muslim king and instigated him to invade the country.[1] This time Ulugh Khān invaded Hammīra's country with an army of 100,000 horses.[2] The Rajputs, however, fought this battle with great strategy and caused the enemy to flee. The estate of treacherous Bhoja was also captured.[3]

Thus, dejected by these two defeats, Alā-ud-dīn called upon all the subordinate princes to join him in a war against Hammīra.[4] This time, with this mighty concourse, Nasarat Khān and Ulugh Khān, the two brothers, started for Raṇathambhor.[5] In a desperate struggle, Nasarat-Khān was killed.[6] Alarmed by the critical situation, Alā-ud-dīn himself came and led the army to the gates of Raṇathambhor's fort and besieged it.[7] But all his attempts to take the fort were frustrated.[8] Then he began with his schemes of seduction and broke open some of the key-men of Hammīra to his side. In the meanwhile, all the provisions exhausted in the fort. Harassed by the interval intrigues and thus deserted by all the faithful servants, Hammīra sallied out of the fort and fell upon the enemy. Before this all the females of his family perished on the funeral piles. A deadly hand-to-hand struggle ensued. All his heroes fell fighting. Lastly, fell the mighty Hammīra pierced with hundred arrows. Disdaining to fall in the hands of enemy, he severed his head from his body with his own hand and thus terminated his existence. He died in the 18th year of his reign, in the month of Śrāvana.[9]

The Muslim sources lend support to the above account given by the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*. In his *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Barani relates that the attack on Raṇathambhor began as early as the reign of Jalāl-ud-dīn Firuz (1290-1296 A.D.). The Sultan in A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290) led an army to Raṇathambhor. The Rai of the place, with his Rawats and followers and with their wives and children, took refuge in the fort of Raṇathambhor. The Sultan wanted to besiege and conquer the fort, but finding that it could not

[1] Canto X, Vs. 8–31.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 35–68.
[4] *Ibid.*, V. 88.
[5] Canto XI, V. 7.
[6] *Ibid.*, V, 105.
[7] *Ibid.*, V. 103.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vs. 29–89.
[9] Canto XIII, Vs. 1–125.

be done without the loss of many precious Muslim lives, he raised the siege and departed to Delhi next day. Alā-ud-dīn (1296-1316 A.D.) soon after his accession renewed the efforts of his uncle to take the fort. During the first attempt in 1300 A.D. when Ulugh Khān and Nasarat Khān were besieging the fort, the latter was fatally wounded by a stone and died two or three days after. It was only after repeated attempts that the Sultan succeeded in reducing Raṇathambhor. He slew Hammīrdeo and placed the fort and all his territories under the charge of Ulugh Khān."[1] A contemporary writer, Amīr Khusrau, in his *Tarikh-i-Alai*, describes in some detail the siege of Ranathambhor. He says that Hindus bravely resisted all the attempts of the Muslims to capture the fort till no provisions remained in the fort. The Rai, seeing no hope of success, one night, lit a fire at the top of the hill and threw the women and children into the flames. Thereafter, with a band of a few devoted followers, he rushed upon the enemy and died fighting bravely. The strong fort fell to the enemy on the 3rd Zilkada A.H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.).[2] Thus ended the last prince of Cāhamāna dynasty. We know nothing about his successors from the Jain sources.

III. THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF NADDŪLA

Besides the stray references in the Jain literature we have more than a dozen Jain inscriptions belonging to this branch of the dynasty, which have enabled us to construct its history on some solid basis.

Lakṣmaṇa: There are two Jain records which provide the most valuable sources of information about the relations of this branch with the main line of Śākambharī. The Jain record, known as the Naḍol copper plates grant of Rājaputra Kīrtipāla, dated V.E. 1218, traces its genealogy to Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Vākpatirāja Cāhamāna of Śākambharī.[3] Another Jain record, the Sundhā hill inscription (V.E. 1319), calls Lakṣmaṇa as Śākambharīndra.[4] We know from the Bijolia Jain inscription and the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya-mahākāvya* that Vākpatirāja was succeeded by his son, Siṁharāja.[5] The epithet Śākambharīndra with Laksmaṇa shows that he also might have been a claimant to the throne of Śākambharī being another son of Vākpatirāja.

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[1] Elliot, III, pp. 178–79.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 146 ff. and 171–177.
[3] P. C. Nahar *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I., pp. 210–211.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 70 ff.; see also *ibid.*, pp. 253–58.
[5] See *supra*, p. 127.

A romantic story is narrated about him in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* which runs as follows:—

> Lakhana (Lakṣmaṇa) migrated from his ancesral home in search of a new dominion. It states that: Lakhana went abroad to earn his livelihood with his wife and a servant of low caste. On his way he took rest in a temple at Naḍḍulapura. He killed at night, some of the men of Meda tribe who used to create trouble in that locality. He was established there by the people whom he had protected and thus he, by his influence, carved out a principality around it. He married there a daughter of a rich mercant. The sons born from her were classed as merchants and the sons born from his former wife were classed as Kṣatriyas.[1]

This statement of the Prabandha is strikingly corroborated by an inscription on the Suraj-pol at Naḍol, which is reported to have been erected by him, contains his name, showing the authenticity of the tradition that he really established himself in that town. The fort of Naḍol, which bears his name and which is said to have been constructed by him. also connects him with Naḍḍūla. Two records have been referred to by Tod which give us his dates as V.E. 1024 (*c.* 967 A.D.) and 1039 (*c.* 982 A.D.).[2] No political event of his reign has been recorded by the Jain sources.

Sobhita: Lakṣmaṇa had two sons. One was Sobhita or Sohiya, adorned with all the qualities and best among the kings and the other was Vigrahapāla according to the Jain copper plate from Naḍol.[3] The Sundhā hill record states that he had taken away the glory of the Lord of Himādribhāva (*i.e.*, Mt. Abū).[4] We know that the Paramāras of Candrāvati were ruling over the region of Abu at that time. In my opinion the king of Abu may have been the successor of Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja I, whose known date is V.E. 1024 (967 A.D.). He may be the contemporary of Lakṣmaṇa, the father of Sobhita.

Balirāja: Sobhita was succeeded by his son Balirāja, who was an abode of depth and patience according to the Sundhā hill inscription. The same authority credits him a victory over the army of Muñjarāja, undoubtedly

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1 *SJGM.*, II, pp. 101–2.
2 *DHNI.*, II, p. 1105.
3 *EI.*, XI, p. 66 ff., V. 2.
4 *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 76–77, V. 7.

the Mālava Paramāra of that name (*c.* 974-95 A.D.).[1] The Bijapur Jain inscription from Hathuṇḍi shows the possibility of this conflict between the two by stating that Muñja attacked the confederacy of kings at Medapāṭa and destroyed Āghāṭa.[2] Balirāja may have been one of the members of confederacy.

Mahendra: Since Balirāja had no son, he was succeeded by his uncle's son Mahendra.[3] This Mahendra is identical with the prince of that name mentioned in the Bijapur Jain inscription from Hathuṇḍi. He is stated there to have taken refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Dhavala (*c.* 997 A.D.), when he was troubled by Durlabharāja.[4] This Durlabharāja has been identified with the Cāhamāna prince mentioned by that name in the Harsa stone inscription dated V.E. 1030.[5] The *Dvāśraya-kāvya* states that Mahendra of Naḍḍūla gave his two daughters to the Caulukya Durlabha (1110-22 A.D.) and his brother Nāgarāja.[6]

Āhila: Mahendra had two sons by name Aśvapāla and Anahilla. Aśvapāla's son was Āhila who, according to the Sundhā hill inscription, is credited with a victory over an army of the Gurjara king Bhīma[7] (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.). The names of Aśvapāla and Āhila have not been mentioned in the two Jain copper plates of V.E. 1218. But, if we read with the aid of the Sundhā hill inscription, we must come to the above conclusion.

Anahilla: Since Āhila had no son, therefore, he was succeeded by his uncle Aṇahilla. The Sundhā hill inscription informs us that he also defeated king Bhīma, undoubtedly the Caulukya Bhīma I.[8] This shows that the rivalry with the Caulukyas continued during his reign. The same authority further states that he captured Śākambharī, killed the general (*daṇḍādhīśa*) Sāḍha of the Mālava king Bhoja (999-55 A.D.) and defeated the army of the strong Turuṣkas.[9] These statements of the Sundhā record show that this powerful king came in conflict with the three imperial powers of the time They were Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, the Caulukyas of Aṇhilavāḍa and the

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1 *Ibid.*, V. 7.
2 *EI.*, X, p. 17 ff., V. 10; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 234.
3 *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77.
4 *EI.*, X. pp. 17 ff., V. 11.
5 *EI.*, II, pp. 116–130.
6 See *infra*, Chapter on the Caulukya of Gujarāta.
7 *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, Vs. 12, 13.
8 *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 14.
9 *Ibid.*, V. 17.

Paramāras of Mālava. The struggle with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī seems to have been a retaliation for his father Mahendra. Victory over Turuṣkas indicates that he encountered Mahmud of Ghazni, when in 1024 A.D. he was advancing towards Pāṭaṇa, on his way to Somanath. The temporary achievements of this king, though made the fortunes of the family for sometime bright, were followed by evil consequences from which his successors suffered.

Bālaprasāda: Aṇahilla had two sons Bālaprasāda and Jindurāja. He was succeeded by his elder son Bālaprasāda. The Sundhā hill inscription contains a veiled information which indicates that Bālaprasāda had accepted the suzerainty of king Bhīma.[1] It states that he got released a prince named Kṛṣṇadeva from prison pressing hard to Bhīma by means of rubbing the feet (*Caraṇayugalīmardanavyājataḥ*). We have elsewhere identified this Kṛṣṇarāja with Kṛṣṇarāja, the Paramāra prince of Abu.[2]

Jindurāja: Bālaprasāda was followed by his brother Jindurāja who according to the Sundhā hill inscription fought victoriously at Sanḍerā (modern Sanderao in the Jodhpur division).[3] With whom he fought is not mentioned in the inscription. He might have been a prince of the neighbourhood.

Pṛthvīpāla: Jindurāja had three sons Pṛthvīpāla, Jojalla or Yojaka and Āsarāja. He, however, was succeeded by his elder son Pṛthvīpāla who according to the above authority had defeated the army of Karṇa, apparently the Caulukya king, son of Bhīma I.[4] Perhaps Pṛthvīrāja had done this by way of helping the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya of Mālavā.[5]

Yojaka: Yojaka or Jojalla succeeded his brother Pṛthvīpāla whom the Caulukya king Karṇa reduced to vassalage on account of his brother Pṛthvīpāla's anti-friendly policy. The Sundhā hill inscription mentions this event in a figurative term. Yojaka took joy in Aṇahillapura with his white umberella. One of his two inscriptions gives him the date V.E. 1147 (*c.* 1019 A.D.).[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, V. 18.
[2] See *infra*, Chapter on the Caulukya of Gujarāta.
[3] *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 20.
[4] *Ibid.*, V. 22.
[5] See *infra*, Chapter on the Caulukya of Gujarata
[6] V. 24: श्वेतातपत्रेण विराजमानः यस्याणहिल्लपुरेऽपि रेमे।

Āsarāja: After the death of Yojaka, his brother Āsarāja, who was also called Āsarāja, Āsvarāja or Aśvaka, succeeded him.[1] We have fortunately two dated Jain inscriptions of his reign from Sevāḍi (Jodhpur).

The inscription number one is found engraved on the lintel of the doorway of Mahāvīra temple. It mentions Aśvarāja as the Mahārājādhirāja and his son Kaṭukarāja as Yuvarāja. It gives the reigning year V.E. 1167 corresponding to the year 1110 A.R.[2] The other one has been found carved on the lintel of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sevāḍi. It gives the names of the predecessors of Kaṭukarāja from Anahila; then his son Jinda and grandson Aśvarāja. Kaṭukarāja is recorded there to have granted annually 8 drammas to the Jain Thallaka of Sāṇḍeraka gaccha for the worship of Śāntinātha in V.E. *1172* (*c*. 1115 A.D.). The temple is said to be situated in the Bhukti of Kaṭukarāja.

These inscriptions show that Aśvarāja's son Kaṭukarāja as a *yuvarāja* helped him in the government.[3]

The Sundhā hill inscription informs us that Āsarāja gave assistance to Siddharāja, no doubt Caulukya emperor Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, in the land of Mālava.[4] This help was rendered perhaps in the struggle with Yaśovarman. His another record known as Bāli stone inscription is dated in the victorious reign of Jayasiṁhadeva in V.E. 1200 and refers to Aśvaka as subsisting on his lotus feet.[5] This shows that he was a feudatory of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c*. 1094-1144 A.D.). From his inscriptions it appears that he ruled from V.E. 1167 to 1200 (1130-1143 A.D.) and enjoyed a long reign. It should be observed here that all the three inscriptions of his reign were discovered around Bāli, in the Jodhpur division.

Ratnapāla: It, however, appears from the discovery of the Sevāḍi grant of Ratnapāla dated V.E. 1176 (*c*. 1119 A.D.)[6] that his long reign must have been interrupted by another claimant of the throne of Naddūla. This grant records the genealogy of Ratnapāla from Lakṣmana down to Pṛthvī-

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1 *EI*., IX, p. 66 ff., V. 4.

2 *EI*., XI, pp. 28–30; P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, p. 226.

3 *Ibid*., pp. 30–32; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 226.

4 V. 26 · श्रीआशाराजनामा समजनि..........
साहाय्यं मालवानां यदसिकृतं वीक्ष्य सिद्धाधिराजः।

5 *EI*., IX, pp. 32–33

6 *EI*., XI, pp. 304–13.

pāla which shows that he was the son of Pṛthvīpāla, one of the elder brothers of Asaraja. The grant is dated in the reign of Mahārājādhrirāja Ratnapāla at Naḍḍūla. This grant indicates that Āsarāja had been ousted by his nephew Ratnapāla or he did not rule at all from Naḍḍūla. The ousting seems likely to have occurred from the fact that we have no inscriptions of Ratnapāla dated earlier than V.E. 1176 (1119 A.D.). The sudden appearance of this record in between those dated records of Āsarāja must have some significance related to the fact of his ousting. The fact that Āsarāja could not recover his lost throne, is proved by several Jain inscriptions of Ratnapāla's son Mahārājādhirāja Rāyapala. The acceptance of vassalage to Jayasiṁha Siddharāja by Āsarāja may have some connection with the attempts to recover the throne through the help of Jayasiṁha but it seems that it too proved futile.[1]

Rāyapāla: Nothing is known of Ratnapāla from the Jain sources. Ratnapāla was succeeded by his son Rāyapāla, though the Jain inscriptions do not mention even the name of Ratnapāla, their relationship, however, has been established by the Mandor inscription.[2]

We have five dated Jain inscriptions of his reign bearing the dates from V.E. 1189 to 1202 (*c.* 1132-1145 A.D.), discovered from Nadlāi in the Jodhpur division. They are given here in chronological order.

The inscription (i) dated V.E. 1189 (*c.* 1132 A.D.) has been found incised on the lintel of two pillars in the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of a Jain temple of Ādinātha. It records as grant made by Rudrapāla and Āmrapāla, sons of Mahārājādhirāja Rayapala conjunctly with their mother the queen Miṇaladevi.[3] The inscription (ii) has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha. It records a gift by the Guhila Thakura Rājadeva for the worship of Neminātha in the reign of M. Rāyapāla. It bears the date V.E. 1195 (*c.* 1138 A.D.).[4] The inscription (iii) bears the date V.E. 1200 (1143 A.D.) in the reign of M. Rāyapāla. It was found in the Ādinātha temple.[5] The epigraph (iv) is also dated in the same year as number (iii) and found engraved in the

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1 *DHNI.*, II, p. 2110.
2 *EI.*, XI., p. 69, fn. 1; also *ibid.*, p. 307.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 34–36; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 213.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 37–41; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, p. 217.
5 P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, Pt. I, p. 213.

lintel in the same temple. It records a gift to the temple of Mahāvīra in the reign of the above king.[1] The inscription is discovered on the same lintel as No. 4. It also records some joint gifts to the temple of Mahāvīra in the reign of the same king. It gives us the date V.E. 1202 (*c.* 1145 A.D.).[2]

These inscriptions show that his regin extended over a period of 13 years. We have three more inscriptions other than the Jain ones. They, however, do not give any specific information or dates. Unfortunately we do not find any indication of his political career from these inscriptions. Nevertheless we have the names of his queen and two sons recorded in one inscription. Nothing is known about them from any other sources.

Kaṭukarāja: Kaṭukarāja, the son of Āsarāja, was sharing the government with his father as we have mentioned above. We know the last date of his father as V.E. 1200. An inscription from Sevādi dated *Siṁha Saṁvat* 31 corresponding to V.E. 1200 (1143 A.D.) informs us that Katudeva still existed and had succeeded in capturing the ancestral seat, some time before that date. This inscription states that, in the above-noted years Kaṭudeva was reigning at Naḍol and his son, Yuvarāja Jayatasīha, was in charge of Samīpāti.[3]

After the above we have no Jain inscriptions of the members of this branch up to V.E. 1218 (*c.* 1161 A D.) from Nadūla. Instead of this we have discovered several inscriptions of Kumārapāla Caulukya from that area. A Jain inscription dated V.E. 1213 in the reign of Kumārapāla Caulukya informs us that the latter was the sovereign monarch of that territory.[4] Several other inscriptions ranging from V.E. 1209 to 1216 definitely inform us that the principality of Naḍol was governed by Kumārapāla through his generals or governors.[5]

Ālhaṇadeva: Āsarāja had two sons Kaṭukarāja and Ālhaṇadeva. The latter is known as Alahadeva or Āhlādana. We have already spoken of Kaṭukarāja. The two copper plates Jain grants from Naḍol, bearing the date V.E. 1218 (*c.* 1161 A.D.),[6] informs us that Ālhaṇa was ruling over Naḍol.

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1 *Ibid.*, pp. 213–14; see also *EI.*, XI, pp. 41-42.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 214; see also *ibid.*
3 *EI.*, XI, pp. 33–34.
4 *IA.*, XXXXI, p. 202; See also *HIG.*, III, N. 148, K. pp., 168, 169.
5 *HIG.*, Pt. III, pp. 170–176.
6 *EI.*, IX, pp. 63–66.

We have other inscriptions of this prince from Kirāḍu of the year V.E. 1209 (*c.* 1152 A.D.)[1] and from Jhamvaria of the year V.E. 1216 (*c.* 1162 A.D.).[2]

The Kirāḍu inscription states that Mahārāja Ālhaṇadeva, who had obtained Kīrātakūpa, Latarhada and Siva through the favour of his sovereign (*prabhu*) on the above date on the day of Śivarātri, issued injunctions to the Mahājanas, Tambūlikas and other subjects forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the 8th, 11th and 14th days of both fortnights of every month in the three towns mentioned above, on pains of capital punishment. This edict is called *Amārirūdi* (edict of non-slaughter). It also specified a scale of punishment for Brāhmaṇas, priests, ministers and others. It was issued by the king with the approval of Mahārājaputra Kelhaṇa and Gajasiṁha.[3]

This inscription is very important from the historical as well as religious points of view. It gives us certain clues to the political events that occurred at that time. We know from the history of the Caulukyas that Kumārapāla at the very start of his reign had to encounter his formidable enemy, the Cāhamāna ruler Arṇorāja of Śākambharī.[4] After having defeated him he might have thought to put a check upon all the growing and intriguing powers to the north of his territory. The Cāhamānas of Naḍol might have been among those powers. In consolidating his kingdom Kumārapāla might have deprived them of their sovereignty. The reason for doing this seems most probably that Ālhaṇa's father Āsarāja was the feudatory of Jayasiṁha, who disdained Kumārapāla (Āsarāja might have put certain hindrances in his way to obtaining the throne) and his cousin Ratnapāla as well as his son Rāyapāla both were enjoying the sovereign power at Naḍol. Both of them were, perhaps. a menace to Kumārapāla in extending his imperial power. He, therefore, did his best to suppress them. The absence of the inscriptions of their successors in the area of Naḍol confirms the fact that their power was for some time in abeyance.[5]

It was perhaps Ālhaṇa who, by the year V.E. 1209, got a small part of the territory of his ancestors from Kumārapāla. The Kirāḍu stone inscrip-

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[1] *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 43–46.
[2] *JASB.*, 1916, pp. 101–102.
[3] *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 66–70.
[4] See also *HIG.*, II, p. 49 N. 148.
[5] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1115.

tion (V.E. 1209) rightly demonstrates this. As to how he got this, we have certain indirect information from the Jain authority, the Sundhā hill inscription. He is stated there to have aided the Gurjara king in putting down disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra.[1] The Naḍol Jain copper plates grant of V.E. 1218 also refers to it. It was probably for this faithful service to his sovereign that he got a small principality. And our two subsequent copper plates Jain grants both dated V.E. 1218 (1161 A.D.) suggest that by that year he had pleased Kumārapāla so much as to get his ancestral principality of Nadol[3] restored to him.

Below is the description of the two copper plates, Jain grants from Naḍol:—

> The first grant was discovered by Colonel Tod who presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society, London It is a lengthy grant of 38 lines. It begins with *Oṁ namaḥ Sarvajñāya* and adoration to lord Mahāvīra. Then it traces the genealogy of Ālhanadeva from Laksmana, omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla. It records that Mahārāja Ālhanadeva of Naḍḍūla in V.E. 1218 (*c.* 1161 A.D.), after worshipping the Sun and Iśāna and making gifts to Brāhmaṇas and Gurus, granted a monthly sum of 5 drammas to a Jain temple of Mahāvīra belonging to Sānderaka gaccha from the office of custom-house in the Naḍḍūla talapada.[4]
>
> The second one was found in the possession of the Mahājanas. It is also a lengthy one, engraved on the two copper plates. It opens with *Oṁ Svasti* and adoration to Brahma, Śrīdhara and Śaṅkara in the form of Jains who are always free from passion. It then narrates the pedigree of this family from Vākpatirāja of Śākambharī to Rājakula Ālhanadeva (omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla) and his three sons Kumāra Kelhanadeva, Gajasiṁha and Kīrtipāla from his queen Ānalladevī of the Rāṣṭrauḍa family. It records that Ālhana and Kelhaṇa were pleased to give to Rājaputra Kīrtipāla 12 villages, adjoining to Naḍḍūlai (modern Nadlai). Kīrtipāla on the other hand granted a yearly sum of two drammas from each of his 12 villages to the Jina Mahāvīra at Naḍḍūlai.[5]

These two Jain grants are very important from the genealogical point of view. Besides this they give the names of Ālhana's three sons and queen

[1] V. 33· गिरौ सौराष्ट्रे कुटिलोग्रकण्टकभिदात्युद्दामकीर्त्तेस्तदा etc.

[2] *Jain Lekha-sangiaha*, I, p. 210. V. 5. यो जग्राह जयश्रीरणभरे व्यापाद्य सौराष्ट्रिकान्।

[3] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1117.

[4] *EI.*, IX, pp. 63–66; *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, pp. 208–209, N. 839.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 66–70; *ibid.*, pp. 210–211, N. 840.

of Rāṣṭrauḍa family, most probably of the Hathundi branch of Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[1] It also informs us that Ālhaṇa bore the ordinary title Mahārāja. Though these grants do not refer to the sovereign king Kumārapāla's name, the title Mahārāja suggests to us that Ālhaṇa still continued to be subservient to him.

Kelhaṇa (1161-1192 A.D.): Ālhana was succeeded by his elder son Kelhaṇa. We are informed by the second grant of Naḍol described above that, before V.E. 1218, Ālhaṇa made him in charge of his reign and with his father, Kelhaṇa, gave 12 villages to his younger brother Kīrtipāla.[2] The *Prabandha-kośa* states that "the Cāhamāna king Āṇaka (Arṇorāja) while attacking Kumārapāla Caulukya created a split between Kumārapāla and his allegiant vassals like Kelhaṇa and others of Naḍḍūla by offering them large sums of money.[3] The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* also states that Kṛṣna and Vijaya, the two Sāmantas of Kumārapāla, had gone to the side of Arṇorāja: Kṛṣṇa of this statement has been identified by scholars with the Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa.[4] These statements from our Jain works confirm the conjecture which we have already made that Kumārapāla put a check upon all the intriguing powers to the north of his territory and deprived the Cāhamānas of Naḍḍūla of their sovereignty. This statement also shows that Kelhaṇa might have advanced in age when he succeeded his father, for we know that the war with Arṇorāja had been fought before V.E. 1207 (*c.* 1150 A.D.), and according to the above statements Kelhaṇa shared in it, which would mean that Kelhaṇa was at that time an influential hero, most probably more than 24 years old.

We have six dated Jain inscriptions of his reign. Below they are described in chronological order.

(1) Sānderāva stone inscription bearing the date V.E. 1221 (*c.* 1164 A.D.), was found incised on a lintel in the *Sabhā-mandapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra. It records that in the reign of Kelhana, the queen-mother Ānalladevī granted one plough of land of the *Mūlanāyaka* (chief deity) Śrī Mahāvīra of Sānderaka gaccha. Others also granted so many gifts.[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vs. 6 and 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vs. 8 and 9.
[3] *SJGM.*, V. I, p. 51.
[4] Chunnilal Modi, *Saṅskṛt Dvyāśraya Kāvyamān, Madhyakālīna Gujarātanī Sāmājika sthiti*, p. 40.
[5] *EI.*, IX, p. 46-49: *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 229

(2) & (3) The two Lalrāi stone inscriptions were discovered from the ruins of the Jain temple at Lalrāi near Bāli in Jodhpur division. Both bear the same date V.E. 1233 (1136 A.D.). The first states that in the reign of Kelhaṇadeva at Naḍḍūla the sons of Kīrtipāla named Rājaputras Lakhanapāla and Abhayapāla who were also the owners of Sinānava made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahībalādevī, in the presence of the village *Pañcakula* for celebrating the festival of the God Śāntinātha. The second one is also a grant to the lord Śāntinātha in connection with the festivals of the Gūjaras. It records the Rājaputra Lakhanapāla and Abhayapāla as the *Bhoktās* of Samnānaka.[1]

(4) Sānderāva stone inscription (ii) bearing the date V.E. 1236 of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Kelhaṇadeva, has been found carved on a pillar in the *Sabhāmandapa* at the temple of Śāntinātha. It records the gift of a column and a house to the Tīrthankara Pārśvanātha worshipped at Sānderaka in the *Bhukti* of the queen Jalhanā by Rālha and Pālha.[2]

(5) Saciyāya Mātā inscription has been discovered at Osia in the temple of the family goddess of Osavāla Jain named Sancikā or Saciyāyadevī, bearing the same date as No. 4 (V.E. 1236). It records the management of the temple of the said goddess made by the Goṣṭhika people in the reign of Kelhaṇadeva. It also refers to his two sons Kumārasiṁha and Siṁhavikrama and younger brother Kīrtipāla. It also mentions Dhārāvarṣa—most probably the Paramāra chief of Candrāvatī.[3]

(6) *Pāladi stone inscription has been discovered at Pālaḍi near* Sirohi. It is dated V.E. 1249 (*c.* 1192 A.D.) in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Kelhana. It records his son's name as Śrī Jayatasiṁhadeva. It is a grant made to lord Mahāvīra by the Pancakulas, Vālhana and others.[4]

These six inscriptions range from V.E. 1221 to 1249 (*c.* 1164-1192 A.D.). They, however, do not throw any light on the political career of Kelhaṇa. We have six more inscriptions other than the Jain ones; they also do not record any achievement to his credit. An inscription from Bamnera bears a date only one year earlier than the Jain inscription of V.E.

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1 *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 49–51; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 231.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 51–52; *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, p. 229.
3 P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, 198. No. 804.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 73; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p 265.

1220 (1263 A.D.)[1] The other inscription from Naḍlai bearing the date V.E. 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.) shows that Kelhaṇa was the feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla.[2] The Saciyāya Mātā inscription from Osia gives the name of his two sons who were in charge of Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor). There Kīrtipāla is referred to Rājyavāhaka (director of government). Dhārāvarṣa is said there to have owed allegiance to Kelhaṇa. An inscription from the village Jhālodi (Sirohī) bearing the dates V.E. 1252 and 1255, refers to Dhārāvarṣa as the joy of the Paramāra of the Candrāvati whose chief queen, Śṛṅgāradevī, was the daughter of the *Maṇḍalapati* Kelhaṇa.[3] These two Jain epigraphs certainly show some relations between Kelhaṇa and Dhārāvarṣa. Dhārāvarṣa the Paramāra of Abu and Chandrāvati was a feudatory of the Caulukyas and so was Kelhaṇa. Both, it seems, were connected with each other by a matrimonial alliance.

Some light is thrown upon his political achievements from the famous Jain source the Sundhā hill inscription, which states that Kelhaṇa defeated the Deccan king Bhillama and after destroying the power of Turuṣkas, erected a golden *Toraṇa* like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa.[4] The Deccan king has rightly been identified with the Devagiri Yādava king Bhillama (c. 1187-91 A.D.) whose Gadag inscription is dated A.D. 1191.[5] The Turuṣka king may be identified with Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghuri (1173-1192 A.D.), whose reign makes him contemporary of Kelhaṇa (1163-1192 A.D.). The conflict with Muslims is also testified by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*.[6] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar assumes that Kelhaṇa fought with Muslims as a feudatory of Mūlarāja II (1176-1178 A.D.) which seems more probable.[7]

Kelhaṇa had a son named Jayatasiṁha, known from the Pālaḍi Jain inscription dated V.E. 1249. The Jain sources, however, are silent about the political history of Jayatasiṁha and his descendants.

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[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 207–208.
[2] *EI.*, XI, pp. 47–48.
[3] *Arbudas Pr. Jain Lekha-sandoha*, Pt. V, pp. 108–109, N. 311.
[4] V. 34.
[5] *EI.*, IX, pp. 72–77.
[6] See *supra*, p. 140.
[7] *GMRI.*, p. 382.

IV. THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF JĀLOR

This branch of the dynasty was found by Kīrtipāla, one of the three sons of Ālhana. In the later Jain inscriptions of his descendants this branch is called the Sonigarās[1] which may be said to have been derived from Suvarnagiri, the name of the hill fort of Jālor mentioned in some of the inscriptions of Sāmantasiṁha (1282-1302 A.D.) of this branch.[2]

Kīrtipāla: The Sundhā hill inscription informs us that "as a *Rājyeś-vara* of Naḍḍūlaī Kīrtipāla took his residence at Jāvālipura."[3] When he took to his new residence cannot be known from the Jain sources but a Jain inscription of his son Samarasiṁha from Jālor, bearing the date V.E. 1239 (*c.* 1182 A.D.),[4] definitely shows that some time before or by that time Kīrtipāla must have shifted his residence to Jālor. The Jain grant from Naḍol of the date V.E. 1218 (*c.* 1160 A.D.) and a Jain inscription from the temple of Śaciyāya Mātā at Osia dated V.E. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.)[5] inform us that Kīrtipāla took part in the administration of his father and elder brother. As early as V.E. 1218 (*c.* 1160 A.D.) he had obtained 12 villages from his father and brother Kelhana over which he ruled. We also know from some of the inscriptions of Kelhana that Kīrtipāla was quite advanced in age, for his sons by the time V..E. 1233 (*c.* 1175 A.D.) were already enjoying the ownership of some of the villages, and they must have been over eighteen, the age of majority.

The term *Rājyeśvara* mentioned in the Sundhā hill inscription[6] may mean the Lord of the Kingdom of Nāḍol, but this literal meaning of the term may not be applied here to Kīrtipāla who could not succeeed to the throne of Nāḍol in the lifetime of his elder brother or before transferring his residence to Jālor, for we know from the Jain inscription at Pālaḍi noticed above that his eldest brother Kelhaṇa was really the occupant of the throne of Nāḍol up to V.E. 1249 (1192 A.D.), which is certainly a later date by more than ten years, than the date of shifting the residence to Jālor by Kīrtipāla. The above term may also indicate that he might have been a claimant for the throne of Nāḍol, but this question does not arise before the death of Kelhaṇa who was the real occupant or

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1 P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 205 N. 730.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 240, No. 903.

3 *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 36.

4 *EI.*, XI. pp. 52–54, *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, Pt. I, p. 238.

5 *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 198.

6 V. 36: नड्डूलराज्येश्वरश्चिन्तारत्ननिभः समप्रविदुषां निःसीम सैन्याधिपः।

claimant of the throne. In my opinion the appropriate sense of the term may be the highest honourable title to a man of the royal family who assisted in the administration in various capacities. Like the title 'Sarveśvara' to Lavaṇaprasāda in the time of the Caulukya king Bhima II, this title might have some significance with Kīrtipāla who with his sons assisted his elder brother by way of participating in the administration and various wars.

From the Saciyāya Mātā Jain inscription of Kelhaṇa noted above dated V.E. 1236 (*c.* 1176 A.D.) and from the Jālor inscription of Samarasiṁha bearing the date V.E. 1239 (*c.* 1182 A.D.). it appears that Kīrtipāla must have shifted his residence between these two dates.

As regards the political achievements of Kīrtipāla, Sundhā hill inscription throws some light. It states that "he pierced with arrows a Kirātakūṭa prince by name Āsala and defeated the army of Turuṣkas at Kāsahṛda."[1] Kirātakūpa of this statement is obviously modern Kirādū. The *Muhaṇota Naiṇisi* informs us that when Kītu or Kīrtipāla Cāhamāna took possession of Jālor, the ruling prince there was the Paramāra Kuntapāla.[2] We are informed by the Bijolia inscription that Vigraharāja (III). the Cāhamāna of Śākāmbharī, reduced him to a state of utter lancelessness and even set fire to his capital town Jāvālipur.[3] Vigraharāja, as we know. was a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) and so were Ālhaṇa and his two sons Kelhaṇa and Kīrtipāla. This hard stroke at the hands of Vigraharāja must have rendered Kuntapāla very weak and that was the reason why Kīrtipāla took no time in turning him out of Jālor soon after and establishing himself there as the founder of the Sonigārā branch. The other place, Kāsāhrada, where Kīrtipāla defeated the army of Turuṣkas has been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with the village named Kāyadrā (Sirohi) at the fort of Mt. Abu.[4] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇī* mentions the place by name Godaraghaṭṭa.[5] It seems that Kīrtipāla by way of assisting Mūlarāja II (1176-78 A.D.) must have fought with the Turuṣkas.[6]

Samarasiṁha: Kīrtipāla predeceased his elder brother Kelhaṇa who ruled upto 1192 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Samarasiṁha in V.E.

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[1] V. 36.
[2] *EI.*, XI, p. 74.
[3] *EI.*, XXXVI, p. 84-112, V. 21.
[4] *EI.*, XI, p. 72; see also Vol. IX, p. 73.
[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97.
[6] *GMRI.*, p. 342.

1239 (1182 A.D.). He had two other sons, *viz.*, Lakhanapāla and Abhayapāla and a daughter named Rudaladevī. Rudaladevī is stated in the Sundhā hill inscription to have built a temple of Śiva at Jālor.[1] We have the following two dated Jain inscriptions of the reign of Samarasiṁha, both from Jālor.

> The first inscription was found incised on the two lintels of an old mosque, now used as the Topakhānā. It begins with the adoration to Nābheya (Ṛṣabhanātha), and gives the name of Aṇahila, then Ālhaṇa and Kīrtipāla in the pedigree of Samarasiṁha. This inscription bears the date V.E. 1239 (*c.* 1182 A.D.) in the reign of Mahārāja Somasiṁhadeva, when his son Jojjala was also participating in administration. It records that a *maṇḍapa* was constructed by *Setha* Yaśovīra of the Śrīmāla caste conjointly with his brothers and all the members of the *goṣṭhi*.[2]
>
> The second one was also found on a lintel in the second storey of the same Topakhānā. It bears four dates. In V.E. 1221 Kumārapāla Caulukya built a temple named Kumāra-vihāra on the fort by name Kāñcanagiri (Suvarṇagiri) at Jālor and in V.E. 1242 that temple was rebuilt by the Bhandārī Yaśovīra in accordance with the orders of the Cāhamāna Samarasiṁha in V.E. 1242 (*c.* 1185 A.D.). With the two other later dates referred to there, we have no concern here.[3]

From these inscriptions we have two dates of Samarasiṁha, one V.E. 1239 and other 1242 (1182 and 1185 A.D.). They are not politically important. Only his son Jojjala's name appears in the first inscription, who participated in his administration. The Sundhā hill inscription gives more information about him. It states that he built extensive ramparts on the Kāñcanācala (Suvarṇagiri) and founded a town Samarapur. He also weighed himself against gold on the Soma festival.[4]

Udayasiṁha: The Sundhā inscription informs us that Samarasiṁha was succeeded by his son Udayasiṁha.[5] But a Jain inscription from the Vimala temple at Mt. Arbuda dated V.E. 1378 mentions Mahaṇasiṁha as the son of Samarasiṁha.[6] This Mahaṇasiṁha has been identified with

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[1] V. 41.
[2] *EI*, XI, 52–54; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha* I, pp. 238–39.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55; *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[4] Vs. 38, 40.
[5] V. 42.
[6] *Arbud Pr. Jain Lekha-Sandoha, Pt.* IV, p. 4.

Mānavasiṁha known from another inscription found at the temple of Acaleśvara of the same place bearing the date V.E. 1377.[1] Both these Abu inscriptions supply us a genealogical list of Mahaṇasiṁha. His son and successor was Pratāpamalla who was succeeded by his grandson Vījaḍa. Vījaḍa is said to have founded the Devaḍā branch of the Cāhamānas. The Jain inscription from Abu states that Vījaḍa was the master of *Marusthalīmaṇḍala* (Marwar).[2] The same authority informs us that Vījaḍa had three sons, but the Acaleśvara inscription from Abu informs us that he had four sons, Lāvaṇyakarṇa, Luṇḍha, Lakṣmaṇa and Lūṇavarman. When Lāvanyakarṇa expired he was succeeded by his brother Luṇḍha, who is said, in the Abu inscription of Vimala temple, to have defeated the powerful enemies and established his seat of power at Abu and with the help of his two sons ruled over that territory.[3] We have shown elsewhere on the basis of this statement that Luṇḍha and his two sons turned out the Paramāras of Candrāvatī.[4]

We have, by way of introducing Mahaṇasiṁha, given some introduction of his successors. The Devaḍā branch established by them flourished later than the thirteenth century. So we need not discuss it here.

Mahaṇasiṁha of the Abu Jain inscription seems to be the eldest brother of Udayasiṁha and possibly preceded him as a ruler of Jālor. We have no other information about Mahaṇasiṁha from the Jain sources. Udayasiṁha succeeded the throne of Jālor about V.E. 1262 (*c.* 1205).[5] No dated Jain inscription of his reign has yet been discovered but from the literary sources of Jains, it appears that he enjoyed a long reign of more than 40 years. A colophon of a Jain MS. of the *Nirbhayabhīma-vyāyoga,* composed by the poet Rāmacandra written in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Udayasiṁhadeva, gives us one of his dates which is V.E. 1306 (*c.* 1243 A.D.)[6]. Jinadattasūri also wrote his *Viveka-vilāsa* in the reign of Udayasiṁha but he does not give us any date.[7]

The Sundhā hill inscription enumerates several places over which Udayasiṁha ruled. They are, Nāḍḍūla (Nāḍol), Jāvālipura (Jālor), Māṇḍavya-

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[1] *EI.*, IX, p. 794.
[2] V. 16.
[3] Vs. 20–23.
[4] See *infra* Chapter VIII, section on the Paramāras of Candrāvatī.
[5] Bhinmal stone inscription: *BG.*, I, pp. 474–75, No. III.
[6] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 124, N. 202.
[7] *EI.*, XI, p. 76: Bhandarkar's Search for Sanskrit MSS., for 1883–84, p. 156.

pura (mod. Mandor), Vāgbhaṭameru (mod. Barmer), Sūracandra (mod. Sucand), Ratnahrada, Kheḍā (mod. Kher), Rāmasainya (mod. Ramsen), Śrīmāla (mod. Bhinmal), Ratnapura, Satyapura (mod. Sanchor) and others.[1] This list demonstrates his extensive territory from Sanchor and Jālor in the south to Mandor in the north, comprising Nāḍol, the capital of his ancestors. The same authority mentions that his queen was Prahlādanadevī who bore him two sons, Cācigadeva and Cāmuṇḍarāja.[2] The *Prabandha-kośa* states that Udayasiṁha had a daughter who was married to Vīrama, the brother of the Dholka prince Vīradhavala. The same authority indicates that Udayasiṁha was a feudatory of the prince Vīradhavala.[3] The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* mentions one Udayasiṁha of Maru country as assisting Vīradhavala (*c.* 1219-44 A.D.)[4] against a Muslim invader. The Udayasiṁha of that Jain work may rightly be identified with this Udayasiṁha.

The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* records an interesting story of a struggle between the Caulukya Vīsaladeva and Udayasiṁha:—

> "Nāgaḍa was the minister of Vīsaladeva and Yaśovīra was that of Udayasiṁha. Nāgaḍa in his early life was obliged by an act of Yaśovīra and he promised him to repay that obligation. When the conflict started between the two masters, the ministers by their mutual understanding averted that calamity and saved the kingdoms.[5] The same authority states that once the Turuskas, having destroyed Gujarāta, returning on the way encamped at the village Sīrana. Udayasiṁha fought there with them and made them flee. The chief Mallika by name Aibuka was killed there. After this event Sultāna Jalāladin (Jalal'ud-dīn) invaded that country in V.E. 1310 and encamped on the top of the Suvarṇagiri. This caused great anxiety to Udayasiṁha. He asked his son Bāpada to make a treaty with the Suratrāṇa. He went to him and a treaty was purchased on payment of 36 drammas."[6]

As regards the confirmation of these facts we learn from the Sundhā hill inscription that Udayasiṁha curbed the pride of Turuṣkas, which was not

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[1] V. 43.
[2] V. 45.
[3] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 125.
[4] *GOS.*, X, Act II, p. 11, V. 8.
[5] *SJGM*, II, pp. 49-51.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 51 मन्त्रियशोवीरप्रबन्धः ।

conquered by the Gurjara kings, and put an end to Sindhurāja."[1] This shows that there must have taken place some skirmishes between him and the Gurjara king Visaladeva. Nāgaḍa and Yaśovīra were no doubt the historical persons proved by the epigraphical as well as literary evidences.

Before saying anything about Turuṣkas, it would be better to identify Sindhurāja of the Sundhā hill inscription. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar he is identical with the late Cāhamāna Sindhurāja who is mentioned in the *Hammīra-madamardana* as the father of Sangrāmasiṁha or Śankha.[2] Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that there is a possibility of a king of Sindhu country which was not very far from the boundary of Udayasiṁha's kingdom.[3] Except this we have no other information about this king.

The struggle with the Turuskas is also supported by the *Hammīra-madamardana* and the Muslim accounts. The former confirms this fact by stating the invasion of the Milacchīkāra which has been corroborated with the military campaign of the Delhi Sultan Iltutmish which he undertook in 1226 A.D.[4] Hasan Nizami relates that the Delhi Sultan Shams-ud-dīn invaded Jālor some time between 1211 A.D. and 1216 A.D. It is further affirmed that Udi Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jāleswar, an extremely strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror. When the place was invaded by Shams-ud-dīn, Udi Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness etc The Rai presented to him a rich tribute and the Sultan then returned to Delhi.[5]

But if we read the statement of the *Hammīra-madamardana* with that of the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha*, it appears that the struggle still went on and about 1226 A.D. Iltutmish undertook another campaign in which he is reported to have captured Mandor which was under the possession of Udayasiṁha according to the Sundhā hill inscription.

The *Prabandha-kośa* states that Udayasiṁha killed his son-in-law, in accordance with the order of Vastupāla, the minister of Baghelas,[6] but we have no support for the statement. On the other hand, we know from the Sundhā hill inscription that it was Cāciga, the son of Udayasiṁha, who killed

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[1] V. 46.
[2] *EI.*, XI. p. 76; *GOS.*, X, p. 5.
[3] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1129, fn. 12.
[4] See *infra*, Chapter X on Vaghelas.
[5] Elliot, II, p. 238; See also T. F. Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 207.
[6] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 125.

Vīrama.[1] The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* also confirms the fact.[2] Udayasiṁha is said to have been a scholar conversant with the great works of Bhārat and others and to have built two Śiva temples at Jāvālipura according to the Sundhā hill inscription.[3] The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* mentions the name of one of his sons, Bāpada,[4] who may be identical with Vāhadasiṁha mentioned in one of the Bhīnmāl inscriptions.[5]

Cācigadeva: The Sundhā hill inscription says that Cāciga succeeded his father.[6] We have four dated Jain inscriptions of his reign.

The first is the famous Sundhā hill inscription of the date V.E. 1319 (A.D. 1262). It is a most important record, which helps us in constructing the history of this branch throughout. It was found engraved on the stone slab in the temple of Cāmuṇḍā at Sundhā hill about 10 miles north of Jaśavantapura in the district of same name in Jodhpur division. Though it is composed by a Jain *sūri* Jayamaṅgala of Bṛhadgaccha, it, however, begins with invocation to Śambhu and Pārvatī. It gives the genealogy of Cāciga from the eponymous Cāhamāna, who was a source of great joy to the Ṛsi Vatsa. It gives valuable information about the individual kings of this branch which had not been recorded by the other authorities. The purpose of the inscription is to record certain religious deeds of Cāciga. He is stated there to have remitted certain taxes at Śrīmālā, granted funds at the city of Rāmasainya for the worship of the god Vigrahāditya and visited the Sundhādri, where he established a *maṇḍapa* at the temple of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, known by the name of Āghāṭeśvarī.[7]

The second one bearing the date V.E. 1323 (1264 A.D.) has been found at Jālor in the Topakhānā. It records a gift given by Mah. Narapati to one Candana-Vihāra belonging to Nāṇakagaccha in the reign of Mahārāja Cācigadeva when Mahāmātya Jakṣadeva was transacting the business of seal.[8]

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1 *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 50.
2 *SJGM.*, II, p. 67.
3 V. 46.
4 *SJGM.*, II, p. 51.
5 *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 481 ff.
6 V. 48.
7 *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77.
8 *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 240, No. 903.

The third one has been found at Ratnapura in the Jaśavantapura, Jodhpur division, bearing the date V.E. 1333 (*c.* 1277 A.D.). It records that *Mahantak* Ghīnā, Udala and others granted a land to meet the expenses of the festival of Pārśvanātha in the prosperous reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāja* Śrī Cāciga when the prime-minister Jākha (Jakṣadeva) and others were on duty [1]

The fourth one was found at Bhīnmāl on the bank of Jaikop lake. incised in a fallen pillar. It is also dated V.E. 1333. It records that in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Cācigadeva, during the term of office of the *Pañca mahantaka* Gajasiha and others, the Naigama Kāyastha Subhaṭa made a gıant for worshipping and services to the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra.[2]

These inscriptions give us dates for his reign from V.E. 1319 to 1333 (*c.* 1262-1277 A.D.). But an inscription from Bhīnmāl other than the Jain ones informs us that he ruled from V.E. 1318 to V.E. 1334 (*c.* 1278 A.D.).[3] Regarding his political achievements we get some light from the Sundhā hill inscription. Cāciga is stated there "to have destroyed the roaring Gurjara lord Vīrama, hated the enemy Śalya, taken delight in felling the shaking Pāṭuka, deprived the colour of Sāṅga and behaved like a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nāhara."[4] We know of Vīrama of this statement as a brother of Vīradhavala from the Jain prabandhas, who was prevented from succeeding his brother Vīradhavala due to the intrigues of the minister Vastupāla.[5] The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* also states that Śrī Cāciga of Jāvālipur killed Vīrama at Sāinvādighaṭ.[6] The identification of Śalya is very difficult for we have no information about him from any sources. Pāṭuka may be to some extent identical with Pāṭaka mentioned in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* as an inhabitant and rich man of the village Palli in *Marumaṇḍala*.[7] He seems from the story narrated there to have been an ordinary chief. Sāṅga of the Sundhā hill inscription may be identified with one Sāṅgaṇa of Vāmanasthali who is said to have been killed by Vīradhavala.[8] Cāciga most probably was a feudatory of Vīradhavala. The Ratnapur

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 248, No. 935.
2 *BG.*, I, Pt. I, pp. 480–481, No. XII.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 481–83. No. XIII.
4 V. 50.
5 See *infra*, Chapter, X, section on Vaghelas.
6 *SJGM.*, II, p. 67.
7 *Ibid.*, II, p. 82.
8 *SJGM.*, VI, pp. 103–104.

Jain inscription refers to him as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.[1] We may assume here that he may have assisted Vīradhavala in defeating Sāṅgaṇa. About Nāhara we, unfortunately, have no information from other sources.

Sāmantasiṁha: According to the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* Cācigadeva was succeeded by Sāmantasiṁha.[2] We have, fortunately, six dated Jain inscriptions of his reign ranging from V.E. 1345 to 1359 (1288-1302 A.D.). They are as follows:—

> The first inscription bearing the date V.E. 1345 (1288 A.D.) has been found engraved on the pillar in the temple of Mātāji at Hathuṇḍi in the district of Godwar (Jodhpur). It records that in the reign of Mahārājakula Śrī Sāmantasiṁha when Mahārāja Lālaṇa and others were in charge of *Śrīkaraṇa*, an annual gift of 24 drammas was given for the worship of Lord Mahāvīra by Hemaka at the village Hathuṇḍi in the Naḍḍūla *maṇḍala*.[3]
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> The second record was found at Ratnapur in the district of Jaśavantapura at Jodhpura. It is dated in V.E. 1248 in the reign of Mahārājakula Śrī Sāmantasiṁha. It gives a detailed description of the grant made by the people of *Goṣṭhika* for the worship of Pārśvanātha.[4]
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> The third one was found at Varmeda in the temple of Dharmanātha on the lintel of a *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*. It records a gift given for the worship of two protecting religious deities related to the first Tīrthaṅkara at the Vāhaḍameru (Varmeda) in the year 1352 during the reign of Mahārājakula Sāmantasiṁha.[5]
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> The fourth one of the same date has been found at the village Jūna near Vaḍmera in Jodhpura division and records the same thing.[6]
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> The fifth record has been discovered at Jālor in the Topakhānā bearing the date V.E. 1353 (*c.* 1296 A.D.). It records a grant made by Narapati with the other members of family for the welfare of his wife Nāyakādevi to a temple of Pārśvanātha at Suvarnagiri in the reign of Mahārājakula Sāmantasiṁha when his son, Kānhadadeva, as subsisting on his lotus feet, was bearing the burden of administration.[7]

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1 *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 240, No. 903.
2 *SJGM.*, II, p. 102: चाचिगदेव सामतसीह कान्हणदेव आदि।
3 P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 233, No. 897.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 249, No. 936.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 244, No. 918.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 179, No. 749.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 240, No. 903.

The sixth epigraph has been found at Vāghiṇa (Sirohi). It bears the date V.E. 1359 (1302 A.D.) in the prosperous reign of Mahārāja Sāmantasiṁha. It records several small gifts at the festival of procession of Lord Śāntinātha at the village Vāghsīnā.[1]

From these Jain inscriptions we, however, do not get any substantial information of political importance about his reign. They also do not throw any light on the relationship between Cāciga and Sāmantasiṁha. Moreover, they also do not mention the name of his father. The *Prabandha-kośa*, however, mentions that Sāmantapāla, Anantapāla and Trilokasiṁha, the three brothers of the same mother, were the sons (Dāyāda) of Udayasiṁha of Jāvālipura.[2] If Sāmantapāla of this Jain work be taken to be identical with Sāmantasiṁha of the inscription we may say that Sāmantasiṁha was the son of Udayasiṁha and thus a brother of Cāciga. We know his early date V.E. 1339 (1282 A.D.) from a Bhīnmāl inscription which is other than the Jain one.[3] Thus, it seems that he ruled from V.E. 1339 to 1359, a period of 20 years.

According to the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* his son Kānhaḍadeva succeeded him.[4] This Kānhaḍadeva can be identified with Kanerdeo, the Raja of Jālor who was a feudatory of Ala'ud-dīn Khalji (A.D. 1296-1316).[5]

Thus the Cāhamāna king known from the Jain sources are as follows.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 267, No. 959.
[2] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 105.
[3] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, pp. 483–84, No. XIV.
[4] *SJGM.*, II, p. 102.
[5] *EI.*, XI, p. 77; TF. Brigg's trans. Vol. I, p. 370 ff.

I. The Cāhamānas of Śākambharī
Cāhamāna
Vāsudeva
Samantarāja
Pūrṇatalla
Jayarāja
Vigrahanṛpa I
Candra
Gopendraka
Durlabha I
Guvaka I
Śaśinṛpa
Gūvākà II
Candana
Bappayarāja
Vindhyanṛpati
Siṁharāja
Lakṣmaṇa
Vigraha II
Durlabha II
Gundu
Vīryarāma
Cāmuṇḍa
Siṁhata
Durlabha II
Vīsaladeva III
Pṛthvīrāja I
Ajayarāja
Arṇorāja
Jagadeva
Pṛthvīrāja II
Vīsala IV
Apara
Gāṇgeya
Someśvara
Pṛthvīrāja III
Harirāja
II. The Cāhamānas of Ranathambhor
Govindarāja (the son of Pṛthvīrāja)
Bālhaṇa
Prahlāda
Vāgbhata
Jaitrasiṁha
Hammīra
Vīrama

III. The Cāhamānas of Naḍḍūla
Sobhita
Vigrahapāla
Balirāja
Mahendra
Aśvapāla
Aṇahilla
Bālaprāsāda
Jindurāja
Pṛthvīpāla
Jojalla
Âsarāja
Rāyapāla
Katukarāja
Âlhaṇadeva
Kelhaṇa
Gajasiṁha
Kīrtipāla
IV. The Cāhamānas of Jāvālipura
Kīrtipāla
Samarasiṁha
Mahaṇasiṁha
Udayasimha
Pratāpamalla
Vījaḍa
Cāciga
Sāmantasiṁha
Kānhaḍadeva

CHAPTER VIII

I. THE GUHILAPUTRAS OR GUHILOTAS

The Jain sources also possess certain information regarding the history of Guhilotas. They, however, have no record of the origin of the family nor do they give correct genealogical list of some early members of the dynasty.

Before dealing with the individual members of the dynasty we should know their early history. They are said to have been an ancient tribe. They originally belonged to Gujarāta. Their earliest member Guhadatta (Guhita) flourished in *c.* 550 A.D. They seem to have migrated to Mewar as early as the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. and one of their early members, namely Bappa, was first to migrate. At first they were the feudatories of the Mauryas of Citor, then of Gurjara Pratīhāras of Kanauj, and after the downfall of Gurjara Pratīhāras of Kanauj, they were vassals of the three imperial powers, the Caulukyas of Anahilapaṭṭaṇa, the Paramāras of Mālava and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. Their early attempts to secure a sovereign position were frustrated by the growing strength of these three powers.[1] There are three Jain inscriptions that confirm this fact. The Bījāpur Jain inscription of Rāṣṭrakūta Dhavala states that the Paramāra Muñja vanquished Śaktikumāra, the Guhilot of Medapāṭa. The capital Āghāṭa (mod. Āhad) near Udaipur was also plundered. Śaktikumāra sought asylum with the Rāṣṭrakūta prince Dhavala of Hastikundi.[2] The Cirwa inscription composed by a Jain monk Ratnaprabhasūri informs us that the Mālava Paramāra Bhoja occupied Citor.[3] The Citorgarh inscription of Kumārapāla, composed by the Jain Rāmakīrti shows that Mewar was included within the Caulukya dominions during the first half of the 12th century.[4] These facts show that they could get no chance to become independent sovereign rulers. But soon after the disintegration of the Paramāra and Caulukya powers, they no doubt had certain opportunities to establish themselves as sovereigns.[5]

This tribe was scattered in various places and it established several principalities. Thus they were naturally divided among several branches. We, however, know something of Guhilaputras of Mewar and Nadūladāgikā from Jain sources.

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1 *DHNI.*, II, pp. 1153-63.
2 *EI.*, X, p. 17, ff. V. 10.
3 *WZKM.*, XXI, pp. 142-62.
4 *EI.*, II, p. 421.
5 *DHNI.*, II, p. 1162.

GUHILAS OF MEWAR:

Founder of the Dynasty: As regards the genealogy of this branch we get some information from a Jain epigraph known as Rainpur Jain temple inscription of Kumbha bearing the date V.E. 1496 (1439 A.D.).[1] It mentions Śrī Bappa as first member of the dynasty followed by Guhila. This, however, seems to be erroneous, for, the earlier records of the family ascribe Guhila as the founder of this dynasty. Our two Jain inscriptions support this view. The Cirwa stone inscription of V.E. 1330 mentions Padmasiṁha, one of the members of this branch to have been born many years after Bappa of the *Guhilāṅgaja vaṁśa*.[2] The Citor stone inscription of V.E. 1335 states that Mahārājakula Samarasiṁha was the ornament of the Guhila family.[3] Thus they established the fact that Guhila, not Bappa, was the original member. Moreover, the Atpur epigraph of Śaktikumāra (V.E. 1034), the earliest record of this branch, supplies a regular genealogy of the family and traces the pedigree from Guhadatta.[4]

Besides this the list of those members who preceded Allaṭa is not recorded correctly by the Rainpur Jain inscription. We know from other sources that 16 members preceded Allaṭa, while this inscription mentions only 8 members before him without giving their correct succession which is rightly known from earlier inscriptions.

Bhartṛpaṭṭa: We, however, have no information about 16 predecessors of Allaṭa from the Jain sources except that about Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, who founded the city of Bhartṛpura identical with the modern village of Bhaṭevar, which has given the name Bhartṛpurīya to a Jain Gaccha.[5]

Allaṭa: Bhartṛpaṭṭa II is said to have been succeeded by his son Allaṭa, according to the Āhar Śaraṇesvara temple inscription of Allaṭa dated V.E. 1008 (951 A.D.).[6] The late G. H. Ojha refers to a damaged and fragmentary undated Jain inscription discovered in a small Jain temple at Āhar connected with Allaṭa.[7] It states that Allaṭa killed in fight his powerful enemy Devapāla and also speaks of one Akṣapaṭalika Mayūra whose name

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[1] P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, Pt. I, p. 165, No. 700.
[2] *WZKM.*, XXI, pp. 142–62.
[3] *JASB.*, Pt. I, pp. 18 and 48.
[4] *IA.*, XXXIX, pp. 186–91.
[5] Vijayadharmasūri, *Prācīna Lekha-saṅgraha*, p. 12, No. 39.
[6] *BI.*, pp. 67–69; *IA.*, LVIII. p. 162.
[7] *HR.*, II, p. 428.

occurs in the above Saraṇeśvara inscription of Allaṭa. Considering the period of Allaṭa (951-953 A.D.) certain scholars have identified Devapāla of this inscription with the Kanauj Pratīhāra of that name (*c.* 948 A.D.), son of Mahīpāla.[1] Though we have no definite evidence to confirm this fact yet it is certain that Devapāla was not a very powerful prince.

Śaktikumāra: Allaṭa was succeeded by Naravāhana and he was succeeded by Śaktikumāra according to the Rainpur Jain inscription; but the Atpur (Āhur) inscription of Śaktikumāra, V.E. 1034 (*c.* 977 A.D.) inserts one Śālivāhana as father and predecessor of Śaktikumāra.[2] We know nothing of Naravāhana and Śālivāhana from the Jain sources. Of the reign of Śaktikumāra we have two Jain inscriptions discovered at Āhar (Udaipur), though they are undated.[3] Their period can be assigned with the help of another inscription of his reign dated V.E. 1034 (*c.* 977 A.D.) from the same place. Nothing particular of political importance has been recorded by these Jain inscriptions. But we know from the Bījāpur Jain inscription that this prince was defeated by the Paramāra ruler Muñja and was protected by the Rāṣṭrakūta prince Dhavala.[4]

His Successors: Śaktikumāra was succeeded by his son Āmbaprasāda but the Rainpur Jain inscription omits his name and places his brother Śucivarman immediately after Śaktikumāra whereas the Citor inscription of V.E. 1331 mentions Āmbaprasāda as successor of Śaktikumāra and predecessor of Śucivarman.[5] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* states that the Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II killed him with his army.[6] Śucivarman succeeded his brother Āmbaprasāda. After him in order of succession come ten princes, Kīrtipāla, Jogarāja, Vairāta, Vaṁśapāla, Vairisiṁha, Vīrasiṁha, Arisiṁha, Codasiṁha, Vikramasiṁha, Raṇasiṁha, Ksemasiṁha, Samantasiṁha.[7] But the accuracy of this order is very difficult to ascertain from the other sources. Moreover, none of the princes preceding Sāmantasiṁha appears to have been of importance and not a single inscription of these princes has been discovered. On the other hand, we know from the three Jain authorities noticed above[8] that during this period from V.E. 1034 (*c.* 977 A.D.), the known

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[1] *DHNI*, I, pp. 587 ff.
[2] *IA.*, XXXIX. 186, ff.
[3] *IIR.*, II, 434–437.
[4] See *infra*, p. 181.
[5] *IA.*, XXII, pp. 80–81.
[6] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 269.
[7] P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 164, No. 700.
[8] See *supra*, p. 171.

date of the Caulukya Kumārapāla, the land of Mewar was occupied by the Paramāras and Caulukyas. It is very strange to note that Rāmakīrti in his Citorgarh inscription of Kumārapāla dated V.E. 1209 does not even hint at the existence of Guhila State.[1] Perhaps this would mean that during this period Guhilas had been reduced to such an insignificant position as not to deserve any mention in a record of royal victories.

Sāmantasiṁha: Onwards from Sāmantasiṁha we now reach the definite ground of information. The Jain inscription from Rainpur states that Sāmantasiṁha succeeded Kṣemasiṁha who is known from other sources as the father of Sāmantasiṁha. Among his seven dated inscriptions discovered, we have one Jain inscription from Sāṇḍerāva bearing the date V.E. 1258 (A.D. 1202)[2] It has been found engraved there on a pillar of a Jain temple of Mahāvīra. This Jain inscription, as well as others,[3] gives us dates of his reign from V.E. 1228 to 1258 (1171-1202 A.D.) but they do not yield any information regarding his political achievements. A Jain inscription from Lūṇiga temple at Mt. Abu dated V.E. 1287 (1230 A.D.) refers to one Sāmantasiṁha who is said there to have broken the power of the Gurjara king but could not succeed due to the offence made by Prahlādana, the younger brother of the Candrāvati Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa (*c.* 1163-1219 A.D.).[4] We have identified this Sāmantasiṁha with the above-noted Sāmantasiṁha of the Guhila family, whose period synchronizes with that of Prahlādana. The Gurjara king has been identified with the Caulukya Ajayapāla (1173-76A.D.).[5] This fact revealed by the Jain inscription indicates that after the death of Kumārapāla, Sāmantasiṁha Guhilota tried to recover Citor which was in the possession of Kumārapāla.

From Kumārasiṁha to Padmasiṁha: The Rainpur Jain inscription states that Sāmantasiṁha was succeeded by Kumārasiṁha who according to Acaleśvara temple inscription of Mt. Abu (V.E. 1342) was the younger brother of Sāmantasiṁha.[6] The same Jain authority mentions Mathanasiṁha as the successor of Kumārasiṁha who is stated as the son of Kumārasiṁha in the Acaleśvara temple inscriptiion of Mt. Abu. Mathanasiṁha was succeeded by his son Padmasiṁha. Nothing is known about these princes

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[1] *EI.*, II, pp. 421 ff.

[2] *ASI.*, WC, 1916-17, pp. 65-66; *EI.*, XX, Appendix, p. 64, No. 446.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *EI.*, III, pp. 200-02, and 208-19.

[5] See *infra*, Chapter IX, II, the Caulukyas of Gujarāta.

[6] *IA.*, XVI, p. 345.

except the information about Mathanasiṁha furnished by the Jain Ratnaprabhasūri in the Cirwa inscription. It is stated that Mathanasiṁha appointed Uddharaṇa of the Tantarāḍa family to the post of the Talārakṣa of the city of Nāgadraha (Nagada). Uddharaṇa had eight sons of whom the eldest, Yogarāja, was appointed as Talāra in the same city of Padmasiṁha.[1]

Jaitrasiṁha: Padmasiṁha was followed by his son Jaitrasiṁha of whose reign we have two dated colophons of the Jain MSS.

> The colophon of the MS. of the *Daśavaikālika-sutra* bearing the date V.E. 1284 (*c.* 1227 A.D.) was written at Āghatadurga (mod. Ahar) in the reign of Jaitrasiṁha.[2] It gives to him the title *Samastarājāvalī-samalaṅkṛta, Mahārājādhirāja*, and mentions the name of his Mahāmātya Jagatsiṁha as carrying on the administration of the seals. The second colophon of the MS named *Pākṣikavṛtti* was written at the same place in the year V.E. 1309 (*c.* 1256 A.D.) in the reign of the same king.[3] It gives him the title of *Mahārājādhirāja Bhagavannārāyaṇa* and *Dakṣiṇa-uttarādhīśa-mānamardana* and mentions his heir-apparent's name Tejasiṁha. Vilhaṇa was in charge of transacting the business of the seal.[4]

These two colophons record the two dates of his reign V.E. 1284 and 1309, but his two inscriptions give him two early dates V.E. 1270 and 1299. As we shall see that a colophon of the Jain MS. gives V.E. 1317 (1260 A.D.) as the date to his son, it is most probable that his reign must have ended before that date — some time between *c.* 1218 and 1260 A.D. Hence we may assign him a period of reign of more than 40 years. The titles mentioned above show him to be a powerful king who exerted considerable influence. By V.E. 1309 his son also began to participate in his administration.

Ratnaprabhasūri in his Cirwā inscription informs us that "the pride of Jaitrasiṁha has never been lowered by the princes of Mālava, Gurjara, Maru, Jāṅgala and the Mlecchas".[5] Regarding the struggle with the prince of Mālava the same authority states that Madana, the grandson of Yogarāja, as officer of Padmasiṁha, fought in the battlefield of Uttūṇaka on behalf of Jesala against the Pañcaguṇḍika Jaitramalla. We may, however, identify

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[1] *WZKM.*, XXI, p. 142 ff.
[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 116.
[3] *Praśasti-saṅgraha*, Pt. I; see also *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 125.
[4] *WZKM.*, XXI, p. 142 ff. V. 6.
[5] *WZKM.*, XXXI, p. 142 ff. V. 6.

Jesala with the Guhila prince Jaitrasiṁha and Jaitramalla with the Mālava prince Jaitugideva (1239-43 A.D.), both of them being contemporaries. As regards the conflict with the prince of Gurjara, we are informed by the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* that in the joint effort of Vīradhavala Caulukya against the Turuṣkas the Mewar king Jayatala could not join on account of the pride of his valour.[1] The reference to the struggle with the princes of Maru and Jāṅgala indicates that he must have fought with the successors of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja II and his brother Harirāja. The Ābu Acaleśvara temple inscription of Samarasiṁha dated V.E. 1342[2] informs us that Jaitrasiṁha destroyed the Cāhamāna of Naḍol, most probably the Jāvālipura Cāhamāna Udayasiṁha who is said to have possessed Naḍol also. The war with the lord of Mlecchas may be confirmed by the statement of the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, which describes in detail the invasion of the territories of Jayatala the lord of Mewar by the Turuṣkavīras under Milicchīkāra. The late Pt. Ojha pointed out this Milicchīkāra to be identical with the Sultan Iltutmash (1211-36 A.D.) who bore the title of Amīr Shikār.[3] The Cirwā inscription referring to this war states that Pamparāja, a son of Yogarāja, the Talāra appointed by Padmasiṁha at Nāgadraha, was killed when that city was destroyed by the soldiers of the Suratrāṇa.[4] It seems that both the Jain authors of the above-noted work and the inscription refer to the same invasion. The *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, however, shows that this prince of Mewar could not have been defeated by the Turuṣkas.[5] We have elsewhere discussed, on the basis of the Cirwā inscription, a struggle of Jaitrasiṁha with Tribhuvanapāla Caulukya.[6]

These struggles naturally indicate that Jaitrasiṁha was a powerful ruler and ruled for a considerable period of time.

Tejasiṁha: Tejasiṁha was the son and successor of Jaitrasiṁha of whose reign we have three dated Jain records.

The first is a colophon from the Jain MS. named the *Śrāvaka Pratikramaṇa-sūtra Cūrṇi* bearing the date V.E. 1317.[7] It was written at Āghāṭa by Kamalacandra, disciple of Rāmacandra in the prosperous

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1 See *infra*, Chapter, IX, II, the Caulukyas of Gujarāta.
2 *HIG.*, III, No. 252, p. 71 ff.
3 *HR.*, II, p. 467.
4 *WZKM.*, XXI, p. 157, V. 16.
5 See *infra*, Chapter, IX, II, the Caulukyas of Gujarāta.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 126.

reign of Tejasiṁha who was adorned with the titles *Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Umāpati-varalabdha, Prauḍhapratāpa-samalaṅkṛta* while his Mahāmātya Samudhara was in charge of transacting the business of seal. The second one is an inscription dated V.E. 1322 (*c.* 1265 A.D.). It was composed by the Ratnaprabhasūri of Caitragaccha and has been found in the village of Ghāghsā near Citor. It traces the genealogy of Tejasiṁha from Padmasiṁha.[1] The third one, an epigraph dated V.E. 1324 (*c.* 1267 A.D.) has been discovered at Citor engraved on a stone fixed on an arch of the bridge on the Gāmbhīrī river near Citor. It is said that this stone originally belonged to the temple of Mahāvīra, at the Talahaṭṭikā of Citrakūṭamahādurga. It mentions Hemacandrasūri and others of the Caitragaccha in the reign of the Mahārāja Śri Tejasiṁhadeva.[2]

From the above three Jain records we get the dates of Jayasiṁha's reign ranging from V.E. 1317 to 1334 (*c.* 1260-67 A.D.). One colophon of 1309 of the reign of Jaitrasiṁha[3] informs us that Tejasiṁha was a crown prince of Jaitrasiṁha which shows he was participating in the administration of his father. His titles given in the Jain colophon indicate that he must have enjoyed sovereign power and owed allegiance to none. The adoption of the epithet *Umāpativaralabdha-prauḍhapratāpa* of the Caulukya rulers shows that after the death of Bhīma II (1178-1241) the sovereignty of the western India must have been divided between the two powers, the Vaghelas, the successors of Bhīma's kingdom, and the Guhilotas of Mewar. He was a contemporary of Vaghela prince Vīsaladeva. Our Ratnaprabhasūri in the Cirwā inscription says that he was honoured by Vīsvaladeva and Tejasiṁhadeva both.[4] Tejasiṁha is mentioned in the Rainpur Jain inscription as Tejasvīsiṁha.[5]

He was followed by his son Samarasiṁha of whose reign we have two dated Jain records.

The first epigraph is the Cirwā stone inscription composed by the Jain Ratnaprabhasūri of Caitragaccha bearing the date V.E. 1330 (*c.* 1273 A.D.). It was found engraved on the outside of the door of the

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[1] *RMR.*, 1927, p. p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 3; *JASB.*, LV. Pt, I, pp. 46-47.
[3] See *supra* p. 175.
[4] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1191-92.
[5] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, 165.
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temple of Viṣṇu at the village Cirwā, situated at a distance of 10 miles from Udaipur to the north of it. It traces the genealogy of Samarasiṁha from Padmasiṁha who is said there to have been born many years after Bappa of the Guhilāṅgaja vaṁśa. It also gives the genealogy and history of the Talāra Yogarāja of Tantarāḍa family, whose ancestors were serving the Guhilas from the time of Mathanasiṁha in various capacities. The purpose of description is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by Yogarāja in the village of Cirakūpa near Nāgadraha (mod. Nāgdā) and certain grants made by his grandson Madana and his mother Hīrū.[1]

The second inscription of V.E 1335 has been discovered incised on a lintel of a Jain temple in the fort of Citor. The purpose of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Śyāma-Pārśvanātha by Jayatalladevī, the queen of Tejasiṁha and the mother of Samarasiṁha and a grant of land made by Samarasiṁha to construct a monastery for Pradyumnasūri. Samarasiṁha is mentioned there as Mahārājakula and the ornament of the Guhila family.[2]

From these inscription we get two dates of his reign, *viz.*, V.E. 1330 and 1335. But the other published inscriptions of his period dated V.E. 1334, 1356 and 1358 show that he, like his grandfather, enjoyed a long reign of more than 28 years from V.E. 1330 to 1358 (1273-1301 A.D.). Though we have no information regarding his political achievements from these inscriptions, a contemporary Jain writer Jinaprabhasūri, the author of *Vividka-tīrtha-kalpa,* informs us that when Ulugh Khān the younger brother of Alā-ud-dīn proceeded on his expedition against Gujarāta in V.E. 1356 (*c.* 1299 A.D.)[3] Samarasiṁha, the king of Citrakūṭa, saved his country from devastation by paying homage to him. This fact is not stated by the Muslim historians, but it is reliable since it comes from a contemporary authority.[4]

The Rainpur Jain inscription of V.E. 1496 mentions Bhuvanasiṁha who was conqueror of the Cāhamāna Kīṭuka and the Suratrāṇa Alā-ud-dīn. But from the other sources it appears that Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha, was the successor of his father. His inscription dated V.E. 1359 (1302 A.D.)

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[1] *WZKM.*, XXI, p. 142 ff.
[2] *IA.*, XXII, pp. 80–81 ; see also *HR.*, II, p. 479.
[3] *DHNI.*, II, p. 1195.
[4] *SJGM.*, X, p. 30: चित्तकूडाहिवई समरसीहेण दण्डं दाउ मेवाडदेसो तथा रक्खिओ।

proves it.[1] The name of Bhuvanasiṁha occurs in the Sisodā branch of Guhilotas.[2] The statement regarding him from the Jain inscription[3] referred to above, however, finds no support from other sources. It seems that he might have been a contemporary of Samarasiṁha, but it is certain that he did not succeed Samarasiṁha.

According to the same Jain inscription Bhuvanasiṁha was succeeded by his son Jayasiṁha but the late Pt. Ojha places Bhīmasiṁha between the two. The same Jain record states that Jayasiṁha was succeeded by Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, the conqueror of the Mālava king Goga. Lakṣmaṇasiṁha was followed by Ajayasiṁha, who, in his turn, was succeeded by his brother Arisiṁha. The Kumbhalagaḍh inscription of V.E. 1517 seems to indicate that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, after the surrender of Ratnasiṁha to Alā-ud-dīn, was raised to the throne of Mewar and so he and his sons reigned for a period before their deaths.[4]

Guhila-putras of Nadūladāgika: Only one member of this branch is known from the three dated Jain inscriptions of the reign of the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Rāyapāla (*c.* 1132-45 A.D.). The Naḍlāi stone inscription bearing the date V.E. 1195 from the Jain temple of Neminātha, already described elsewhere,[5] mentions one Thakkura Rājadeva, son of Rāuta (Rājaputra) Uddharana of the Guhila family who is stated to have granted 1/20th part of the income derived from the goods going to or coming from Nāḍuladāgika. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor—*Svahastoyaṁ Sābhijñānapūrvakaṁ Rāu Rājadeva.*[6]

The other two Jain inscriptions from Naḍlāi dated V.E. 1200 and 1202 respectively of the same Cāhamāna Rāyapāla also refer to the gifts donated by one Rāuta Rājadeva who in consideration of the matter of locality and time may be taken to be identical with that of the above inscription of the date V.E. 1195.[7]

Except his name and donations nothing more is known about him.

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[1] *RMR.*, 1927, p. 3.
[2] *DHNI.*, II, p 1205.
[3] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, p. 165, No. 700.
[4] *DHNI.*, II, p, 1205,
[5] See *supra*, p. 152.
[6] *EI.*, XI, pp. 36-37; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 217.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 213.

II. THE RĀṢṬRAKUṬAS OF HASTIKUṆḌĪ

During the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Northern India certain Rāṣṭrakūṭa chiefs settled in Northern India and from them sprang several petty dynasties about which fortunately we have information from several inscriptions found in Northern India.

About one of the branches of this family which settled in Rājasthāna we know from a Jain inscription. This branch is named by the historians as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍī. The inscription is called Bījāpur stone inscription of Dhavala and it was discovered in a Jain temple situated in a lonely place about two miles from village Bījāpur in the Bali district of the Jodhpur division.[1] It consists of two separate records incised on the same stone. The first contains twenty-two lines and is dated V.E. 1053 (997 A D.) and the second eleven lines and is dated V.E. 996 (949 A.D.). Both seem independent of each other and open with the praise of Jain Tirthaṅkaras or Jain religion.[2]

Verse 3 of the first record refers to a royal family but, unfortunately, the name of the family is lost. From verse 3 of the second record we know that the name of the family, definitely, was Rāṣṭrakūṭa.[3] In verse 4, we are introduced to prince Harivarman and his wife Ruchi. From Harivarman sprang Vidagdha (v. 5) and from Vidagdha, Mammaṭa (v. 8); from Mammaṭa came Dhavala (v. 9) and Dhavala's son was Bālaprasāda (v. 19).

The second part of the inscription seems older and it records only the first three members of the dynasty. The object of this inscription is to show that Vidagdharāja built a *caitya* grave at Hastikuṇḍī for his *guru* Balabhadra. The former prince in V.E. 973 granted certain donations, two-third of the proceeds of which was to go to the Jina (*Arhat*) and one-third to the *guru* Balabhadra as *Vidyādhana*.[4] The grants were renewed by Mammaṭa in V.E. 996. The nature of grant is described in verses 8-17.

The first record supplies us certain material of historical value. It states that Dhavala gave shelter to the armies of a king whose name is lost

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[1] *JASB.*, 1893, Pt. I, pp. 308–14; *EI.*, X, p. 17 ff; the full text of the inscription is also published in the *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, Pt. I, p. 233, No. 898 (Calcutta).

[2] *EI.*, X, p. 18, V. 1: परवादिदर्पमथनं....जिनेन्द्रवरशासनं जयति।

[3] राष्ट्रकूटकुलकाननकल्पवृक्षः।

[4] V. 14: आदानाद्वै तस्माद्भागद्वयमर्हतः कृतं गुरुणा।
शेषतृतीयभागो विद्याधनमात्मनो विहितः॥

and those of the lord of the Gurjaras when Muñjarāja destroyed Āghaṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa (Mewar) and caused them to flee.[1] This Muñjarāja is correctly identified by Kielhorn with the Paramāra Vākpati-Muñja (*c.* 974-97 A.D.).[2] The lord of Gurjaras referred to here was most probably the Caulukya Mūlarāja I of Gujarāta (*c.* 961-96 A.D.) mentioned in verse 12.[3] The prince whose name is lost was possibly a Guhila ruler of Medapāṭa. Āghaṭa which Mūlarāja destroyed is likely to be Āhaḍa near the present Udaipur station from which a well-known Guhalot clan derives its name, Āhaḍia.[4]

Verse 11 refers to one Mahendra to whom Dhavala offered protection against Durlabharāja. Durlabharāja is identified by Kielhorn with the brother of the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja of Harṣa inscription dated V.E. 1030.[5] The same scholaı pointed out that Mahendra must be the son of Vigıahapāla of the same name of the Naḍḍūla branch of the Cāhamāna dynasty.[6]

In verse 12 Dhavala is said to have given support to Dharaṇīvarāha whose power had been completely exterminated by Mūlarāja. Pandit Ramkaraṇa, the editor of the inscription, has suggested ten possibilities of the identification of Dharaṇīvarāha with the Paramāra king of that name, who is said to have been the ruler of Navakot in Marwar.[7]

These references ceıtainly show the importance of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and their importance was in some respects due to theiı position. The frontiers of the Caulukyas, the Cāhamāna and the Paramāra kingdoms were attached to the borders of their kingdom and everyone naturally was seeking assistance from them whenever threatened by another.

The inscription is also important from the social and religious point of view. It refers to Vāsudeva who was the preceptor of Vidagdharāja and who imparted to the prince spiritual knowledge and induced him to erect a temple dedicated to the Jina in the town of Hastikuṇḍī. It refers to a gold

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[1] V. 10 : भंक्त्वा घाटं घटाभिः प्रकटमिव मदं मेदपाटे भटानां।
जन्ये राजन्यजन्ये जनयति जनताजं रणं मुंजराजे॥
श्रीमाण प्रणष्टहरिणे इव भिया गूर्ज्जरेशे विनष्टे।
तत्सैन्यानां शरण्यो हरिरिव शरणे यः सुराणां बभूव॥

[2] *JASB.*, 1893, LXII, Pt. I, 311 ; see *supra* p. 91.

[3] *Ibid.*, see *infra*, Chapter IX, II.

[4] *EI.*, X, p. 19 ; see *supra* p. 173. Section on the Guhilotas.

[5] *JASB.*, 1893, LXII, Pt. I, p. 311.

[6] *Ibid.*, see *supra*, p. 149.

[7] *EI.*, X, p. 19.

weighing of the prince, and the donation of the weighed gold of which two-thirds were allotted to the Jina and the remainder to the Jain preceptor.[1] Verse 33 of the first record refers to a Goṣṭhi of Hastikuṇḍī which renovated the temple of the first Tīrthaṅkara, built by Vidagdharāja. After the renovation Śāntibhadra in V.E. 1053 (A.D. 997) installed the image of Tīrthaṅkara. The names of certain members of the Goṣṭhi are enumerated in the last of the first record.

Verses 8-17 of the second record describe the nature of the grant made by the prince Mammaṭa and renewed by his son Vidagdharāja. The description is as follows:

> (1) One rupee for each twenty loads carried for sale; (2) One rupee on each cart filled (whether going from or by the village); (3) One *karṣa* for ghāṭa at each oil mill; (4) Thirteen *collikas* of betel leaves by the *bhaṭṭas*; (5) *Pellaka pellaka* by the gamblers; (6) One *āḍhaka* (24 seers) of wheat and barley from each *araghaṭṭa*, *i.e.*, well with a water wheel; (7) Five palas for pedda (?); (8) One *Viṁśopaka* coin for each *bhāra* (2,000 palas);[2] (9) ten *palas* from each *bhāra* of articles, such as cotton, copper, saffron, gum resin, madder and so forth, and (10) One *māṣaka* for each droṇa of wheat, mūng. barley. salt. rāla and such other objects which can be measured.[3]

The date of donation made by Vidagdharāja is given as V.E. 973 (916 A.D.).[4]

Thus the known kings from the Jain inscription of this family are as follows:

Harivarman
|
Vidagdha
|
Mammaṭa
|
Dhavala
|
Bālaprasāda

III. PARAMĀRAS OF BĀNSWĀRĀ (VĀGADA)

The two Jain inscription discovered near Arthūṇa, village about 28 miles to the west of Bānswārā in Rājasthāna, indicate that a line of the Paramāras was ruling over this area also.

The first epigraph is much defaced. It was found in a Jain temple of Arthūṇa and fortunately is dated 1159 V.E. (1102 A.D.) — perhaps in the reign of Cāmuṇḍarāja.[1]

The second one was found in a very good condition at the same place and is preserved in the Rajputāna Museum. This inscription contains thirty-one lines of writing and records the installation of an image of lord Vṛṣabha (Ādinātha) in V.E. 1109 in the reign of Vijayarāja.[2] The inscription opens with the 'Oṁ namaḥ Vītarāgāya' and devotes one verse in adoration of the Jina.

In verse 2 the genealogy of Vijayarāja is given. It states that in the Paramāra clan was born a person by name Śrīmanḍalīka, who killed the commandar Kānha and Sindhurāja. From him was born Cāmuṇḍarāja, who destroyed by various means the king of Avanti in the Sthalī (Vāgada) country. Cāmuṇḍarāja's son was Vijayarāja in whose reign the epigraphs were engraved.[3] Verse 26 informs us that the name of Arthūṇa was Utthūnaka.[4]

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[1] Raj. Mu. Rep., 1915, p. 2.

[2] *EI.*, XXI, p. 50. V. 25: वर्ष सहस्रे याते षष्ठ्युत्तरशतेन संयुक्ते।
विक्रमभानोः काले स्थली विश्रयमवति सति विजयराज्ये॥

[3] *Ibid.*, आसीच्छ्रीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमण्डलीकाभिधः।
कन्हस्य ध्वजिनीपतेर्निधनकृच्छ्रीसिन्धुराजस्य च॥
जज्ञे कीर्तिलतालबालक इतश्चामुण्डराजो नृपो।
योऽवन्तिप्रभुसाधनानि बहुशो हंतिस्म देशे स्थलौ (स्थाल्याम्)।
श्री विजयराजनामा तस्य सुतो जयति विततयशः॥

[4] *Ibid.* उत्थूणकनगरेऽस्मिन्निह जगतौ (त्यां)।

Maṇḍalīka and Cāmuṇḍarāja: The defeated persons whose names appear in the inscription are the commander Kānha, Sindhurāja and Avanti-prabhu. The Panherā stone inscription of Maṇḍalīka dated V.E. 1116 (*c.* 1059 A.D.)[1] informs us that Maṇḍalīka captured in the battle the commander Kānha with his horses and elephants and handed him over to Jayasiṁha. The identity of this Kānha is, however, not known. As regards Sindhurāja, Dr. Barnett guessed that this Sindhurāja could not be identified with the Mālava Paramāra of that name who ruled in *c.* 994-1010 A.D. It may be assumed that by Sindhurāja here is meant a king of Sind.[2] Another Arthūṇa inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja dated V.E. 1136 (*c.* 1080 A.D.) also refers to that Cāmuṇḍarāja who gloriously overcame one Sindhurāja.[3] It is more likely that Cāmuṇḍarāja may have undertaken an expedition to the lower Indus valley under his father Maṇḍalīka.

Identification of Avanti-prabhu: Regarding the Avanti-prabhu, it may be conjectured here that at that time the king of Avanti was Udayāditya, younger brother of Bhoja I (*c.* 1060-1087 A.D.). We know from the history of the Paramāras of Mālava line that Udayāditya usurped the Mālava crown by ousting the lawful successor of Bhoja. The Panherā inscription furnishes us a proof that Jayasiṁha, who was most probably the son of Bhoja, was ruling in *c.* 1055-60 A.D.[4] This inscription also informs us that Maṇḍalīka, father of Cāmuṇḍarāja, was his feudatory. In the light of this fact it appears that Cāmuṇḍarāja (*c.* 1080-1102 A.D.) must have taken the cause of his father's sovereign and attacked Udayāditya in retaliation. This Arthūṇa Jain inscription in my opinion gives some definite indication on this point. In the opinion of Dr. H. C. Ray this Avanti-prabhu was probably the Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.) who invaded and conquered Mālava and assumed the title of Avantināthа.[5] His opinion, however, does not seem correct for we have the chronology of the events related to Jayasiṁha that he never took the title 'Avantinātha' before 1136 A.D. At that time Cāmuṇḍarāja was dead. Therefore the clash with Jayasiṁha could not be a possibility. There was a difference of more than thirty-four years between the two events, the one relating to the assumption of the title 'Avantinātha' and the other to the death of Cāmuṇḍaraja.

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[1] *ASI.*, 1916–17, pp. 19–20, Raj. Mu. Rep., 1917, pp. 2–3.
[2] *EI.*, XIV. pp. 295–300.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *ASI.*, 1916–17, pp.19–20.
[5] *DHNI.*, II, p. 923, fn. 4.

Vijayarāja: For Vijayarāja, the son and successor of Cāmuṇḍarāja, we have a date from the above inscription, *i.e.*, V.E. 1166 (*c*. 1109 A.D.). The other inscription of his reign was discovered engraved on an image of Hanumān at the same place dated V.E. 1165 (*c*. 1108 A D.).

Besides these two Jain inscriptions, we know something more about the earlier members of the dynasty from three inscriptions other than the Jain ones. The Panherā stone inscription referred to above describes the origin of the Paramāras from the fire-pit on Mt. Abu and praises the five Paramāra princes of Mālava, *viz.*, Sīyaka, Muñjadeva, Sindhurāja, Bhoja and Jayasiṁha. Then comes the following genealogy of the local branch, Dhanika and his brother of unknown name. From this unknown brother was born Cacca whose son's name is lost; his son was Satyarāja and Satyarāja's sons were Limbarāja and Maṇḍalīka. The Arthūna inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja referred to above (other than the Jain one) gives some names; from the fire-pit of Vaśiṣṭha on Arbuda sprang Paramāra; in his lineage were born two brothers, Vairisiṁha and Ḍambarasiṁha; in the line of Ḍambarasiṁha was born Kaṁsadeva (Kakkadeva); then his son Caṇḍapa; his son Satyarāja; his son Maṇḍanadeva and his son Cāmuṇḍarāja.

From the above description it appears that the Bānswāra Paramāras, like the Abu Paramāras, were a branch of the main line ruling in Lāṭa and Mālava. The Bānswāra section claimed descent from Ḍambarasiṁha, a brother of Vairisiṁha.

What happened to this branch after the reign of Cāmuṇḍarāja's son Vijayarāja we have no account. According to the late Dr. G. H. Ojha, they were gradually ousted from this region by the rising power of the Guhilas of Mewar.

The genealogy of this branch as known from the Jain sources is as follows:

IV. PARAMĀRAS OF CANDRĀVATĪ AND ARBUDA

Though we have stray references in the Jain literature to this branch of the Paramāras, fortunately, we have several Jain inscriptions which have helped us in bringing several members of this branch to light.

The earliest source of information about this branch of the Paramāras is the Vasantagaḍha stone inscription of the Paramāra Pūrnapāla dated V.E. 1099. The Jain inscriptions, though belonging to a later period, help us in constructing the history of this branch.

The Jhāloḍi temple inscription dated V.E. 1255, which is the earliest among the Jain inscriptions of this line, informs us that valorous Dhārāvarṣa, joy of the Paramāra clan, was ruling at Candrāvatī.[1] Another Jain inscription discovered from the Lūṇa temple at Mt. Abu dated V E. 1282 (A.D. 1230) traces the origin of this branch in the same way as we have seen in the *Tilakamañjarī* of the main line.[2] The third one called the Vimala temple inscription, dated V.E. 1378 (A.D. 1322), tells us the same kind of origin. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* and *Prabandha-kośa* call the king of Candrāvatī Paramāra.

The first historical person of this branch according to the Lūṇa temple inscription is Dhūmarāja;[3] and according to the Vimala temple inscription, Kānhaḍa-deva.[4] Both seem to be Prākṛtised form of Kṛṣṇa-deva. In the opinion of some scholars Dhūmarāja is most likely identical with Kānhaḍa-deva; both Dhūma and Kṛṣṇa, being synonymous terms, signify darkness.[5]

The Vasantagaḍha stone inscription of the Paramāra Pūrṇapāla, dated V.E. 1099 (A.D. 1042),[6] mentions Utpalarāja as the first man of the dynasty. Certain scholars on the assumption that Vākpatirāja II bore the second name Utpalarāja maintain that Utpalarāja of Vasantagaḍha inscription is identical with Vākpati II (*c.* 975-90 A.D.). This, however, seems improbable for we

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[1] *Arbuda, Jain Lekha-sandoha*, P. IV, p. 108, V. 2: श्रीमति धारावर्षे विक्रमतर्पे प्रमारकुलदीपे, अष्टादशशतपञ्चाशे च चन्द्रावतीं...।

[2] *Ibid.*, P. II, p. 97, V. 32: श्रेय: श्रष्ठ्यगिष्ठोमहुतभुक्कुण्डान्मृतंगात्मजः।
प्रद्योनाधिकठहर्दोधिनिभरः काप्यात्रिगामीश्वर: ॥
तं मत्वा परमारणैकरसिकं न व्याजहार श्रुत-
रावारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नान्नाऽथ तस्यान्वय: ॥

[3] *Ibid.*, V. 33: श्रीधूमराज: प्रथमं बभूव।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 2, V. 4: तदन्वये कान्हडदेववीर: पुरा विगसीत्प्रबलप्रताप:।

[5] H. C. Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 913, fn. 4.

[6] *EI.*, IX, pp. 10–15.

have a date V.E. 1059 (*c.* 1002 A.D.) for Mahīpāla, a descendant of Utpalarāja, who flourished after three or four generations and in a gap of twelve years the periods of two or three reigning kings might not easily accommodated. Moreover, we have a Jain inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja, dated V.E. 1024 (*c.* 967 A.D.), from village Diyāṇā in the Sirohi District.[1] The Kṛṣṇarāja of this inscription is supposed to be Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja, the grandson of Utpalarāja, whose date falls eight years earlier than that of Vākpati II (conjectured to be Utpalarāja by scholars). The identification, therefore, does not seem plausible.

The Vasantagaḍha inscription shows that Utpalarāja's son was Araṇyarāja and Araṇyarāja's son was Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja. We know nothing about them.

Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja: The Jain inscription from Diyāṇā near Mt. Abu, which was found in the temple of Śāntinātha on its girth engraved on a pillar, records that an image of Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra) was installed by a Goṣṭhi of Viṣṭitaka clan in V.E. 1024 (*c.* 967 A.D.) in the reign of king Kṛṣṇarāja.[2] Though the family name of king is not mentioned there, it seems probable, if we take into consideration the matter of locality which was under the rule of the Paramāras of Arbuda during this period, that he must have been identical with Adbhuta Kṛṣṇa, son of Araṇyarāja. In the opinion of Dr. H. C. Ray, "Adbhuta Kṛṣṇa may be identical with the hero Kānhaḍadeva whose name occurs as that of one of the Abu Paramāras in the Mt. Vimala temple inscription." He, however, remarks that "it is more likely that the person meant in the Arbuda inscription was the prince Kṛṣṇarāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants."[3]

Dharaṇīvarāha (*c.* 995 A.D.): Dharaṇīvarāha is said to have succeeded Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja. Though from the Vasantagaḍha inscription we do not know of him, the information obtained from the Jain inscriptions certainly establishes this fact. The Bijapur Jain inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (*c.* 980 A.D.) states that Dharaṇīvarāha, when attacked by the powerful Caulukya king Mūlarāja, took shelter of Dhavala.[4] Dharaṇī-

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[1] *Arbuda-prācīna Jain Lekha-sandoha*, Pt. V, No 486, p. 168 : विष्ठितकुले गोष्ठ्या श्रीवर्धमानस्य कारितं सुरूपं मुक्तये बिम्बं कृष्णराजे महीपतौ आषाढ़शुद्ध षष्ठ्यां समासहस्रे जिनैः समभ्यधिके (१०२४)।

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *DHNI.*, II, p. 909.

[4] *EI.*, X, pp. 17–24, V. 12.

varāha of this inscription has been a subject of dispute among scholars. Prof. Kielhorn assumed that he was a scion of a Cūḍāsama family of Junāgarh.[1] But his assumption has no support. According to Muni Jina-Vijayaji he might have been a member of the Paramāra dynasty of Arbuda.[2] Pt. V. N. Reu assumes on the basis of the evidences from Kirādu and Vasantagaḍha inscriptions that Dharaṇīvarāha might have been the fifth member of the Paramāra branch of Arbuda between Kṛṣṇarāja and Mahīpala.[3] Pt. G. H. Ojha and Dr. Bhandarkar accept him as the son of the former and the father of the latter.[4]

This Dharaṇīvarāha may also be taken to be identical with Arbudeśvara mentioned in the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* in relation to the attack over Grāharipu. Hemacandra states that as an ally of Mūlarāja, Arbudeśvara and the king of Śrīmāl accompanied him in the war of Surāṣṭra. The commentator, Abhaya-tilakagaṇi, refers to the two kings as being identical.[5]

Mahīpāla alias Devarāja: Dharaṇīvarāha was succeeded by Mahīpāla whose date we have as V.E. 1059 (*c.* 1002 A.D.) from a grant.[6] He had another name Devarāja, for, the son of his son Dhandhuka, Kṛṣṇarāja (II), is mentioned in his Bhīnmāl inscription as the grandson of Devarāja.[7] The Jain work *Prabhāvaka-carita* mentions one Devarāja of the family of Dhūmarāja who was ruling at Śrīmāl (*i.e.*, Bhīnmāl) and who was the contemporary of Cāmuṇḍarāja (A.D. 996-1010). This Devarāja of the Jain work seems more probably identical with Devarāja of the said inscription and may be the other name of Mahīpāla of the Vasantagaḍha inscription. Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Dhandhuka.

Dhandhuka: This Dhandhuka, in the opinion of scholars, is identical with the Ābu Paramāra of that name mentioned in the Jain inscription

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

2 *Prācīna Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, p. 204.

3 *Bharatavarṣa-kā Prācīna-rājavaṁśa*, Pt. III, p. 92.

4 *HR.*, I, pp. 171–72; *EI.*, XX, Appendix, p. 20, No. 123.

5 *DV.*, V, Vs. 42–45: सकीर्तिं सार्जवं भर्तुभूयादित्यर्बुदेश्वरः।
सनामारीनहन् प्रत्यर्थनुरूपं कृतायुधः etc.
Commentary on V. 45 श्रीमालवस्य भिल्लमालापरनाम्नः. . . .पूजितोऽधिपोऽर्बुदेश्वरः।

6 G. H. Ojha, *Rajapūtānā-ka-Itihās* (Hindi), I, V. 172.

7 *BG.*, I, pp. 472–73.

8 *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 127: पुरं श्रीमालमित्यस्ति. . . .श्रीधूमराजवंशीयः कुमुदामोदमण्डलः।
राजात्र देवराजोऽस्ति तरंगितनयोदधिः॥

of Vimala temple, from whom the genealogy given in the record begins.[1]

The Vimala temple record states that Dhandhukarāja, lord of the town of Candrāvatī, was born in the family of Paramāra Kānhaḍadeva.[2] This Dhandhuka, "averse from rendering homage to the (Caulukya) king Bhīma I (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.) *and to escape from that anger, took refuge with king* Bhoja, the lord of Dhārā (*c.* 999-1055 A.D.)."[3] The inscription, after this statement, abruptly introduces the Prāgvāṭa Vimala, the Daṇḍapati of Bhīma I at Arbuda, and refers to the building of a temple of Ṛṣabha (*yugādi bhartṛ yugādi Jina, Ādinātha*) by him on the top of the mountain in V.E. 1088 (1031 A.D.), which seems to indicate that Vimala became the Caulukya governor of this region after ousting the Paramāra Dhandhuka who was probably the vassal of Bhoja. But the Vasantagaḍha inscription of Pūrṇapāla shows that the Paramāras were not permanently ousted from the Ābu region.

We have no information about Pūrnapāla in the Jain sources, but the Vasantagaḍha inscription dated V.E. 1099 (A.D. 1042) and a Bhaḍuṇḍā stone inscription dated V.E. 1102 (*c.* 1045 A.D.)[4] inform us that he was ruling Arbuda Maṇḍala during this period.

Pūrnapāla was possibly succeeded by Kṛsnarāja II. From the Bhīnmāl stone inscription dated V.E. 1117 (*c.* 1060 A.D.),[5] we know that he was a son of Dhandhuka. He, therefore, appears to be a brother of Pūrnapāla. The Jain sources are silent about him.

After him we have no history of this branch of the Paramāras for the next fifty years. We do not know what happened to them from the Jain sources. Then comes a Jain inscription to our rescue. The inscription was discovered in the Lūna temple at Mt. Abu and is dated V.E. 1287 (A.D. 1230). It gives us the following genealogical list of these later Ābu Paramāras of the time of Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241 A.D.).[6]

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[1] *EI.*, IX, p. 151, 155–56, V. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 5 : तत्कुलकमलमरालः कालः प्रत्यर्थिमण्डलीकानाम् ।
चन्द्रावती पुरीशः समजनि वीराग्रणीर्धन्धुः ॥

[3] *Ibid.*, V 6 : श्रीभीमदेवस्य नृपस्य सेवाममन्यमानः किल धुन्धुराजः ।
नरेशरोषाच्च ततो मनस्वी धाराधिपं भोजनृपं प्रपेदे ॥
See also *SJGM.*, II, pp. 51–52, *Vimala-vasahikā-prabandha.*

[4] *JBRAS.*, XXIII, p. 78 ff.

[5] Bom. Gar., Pt. I, pp. 472–73.

[6] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 200–04, 208–19, see also *Arbuda-prācīna Jain Lekha-sandoha*, Pt. II, pp. 92–109.

From the sacrificial fire-pit of Vaśiṣṭha on Mt. Arbuda emerged the following:—

1. Paramāra: In that lineage
2. Dhūmarāja: Then there were
3. Dhandhuka,
4. Dhruvabhaṭa and others: In their lineage
5. Rāmadeva,
6. Yaśodhavala,
7. Dhārāvarṣa,
8. Prahlādana,
9. Somasiṁha,
10. Kṛṣṇarāja,
11. Vīsaladeva.

The above three names at the top of the list appear to be the same as found in the Vasantagaḍha inscription, for example, the Paramāra is the common eponymous personage. Dhūmarāja is the same as Kānhaḍadeva of the Vimala temple inscription referred to above, who has been identified with the prince Kṛṣṇarāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants. Dhundhuka of this inscription is possibly the same as the father of Pūrṇapāla of the Vasantagaḍha inscription.

We do not know of Dhruvabhaṭa etc., mentioned in the inscription. This line, however, begins with Rāmadeva[1] who, in the opinion of scholars, was the relative of Kṛṣṇarāja II (*c.* 1060-67 A.D.).

Vikramasiṁha: Rāmadeva was succeeded by his brother Vikramasiṁha. The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* relates that when Kumārapāla attacked the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja, Vikramasiṁha accompanied him.[2] It, however, seems that he had gone over to the enemy. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* elaborately describes Vikramasiṁha's treacherous designs as to how he disobeyed his master Kumārapāla and neglected his ministers' advice; how he plotted to murder the king; how Kumārapāla escaped in the battle of twelve years, how he imprisoned him and installed Rāmadeva's son, Yaśodhavala, on the throne

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 25: अथेह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके चौलुक्यकुलकमलराजहंस . . . . महाराजाधिराज श्रीम० (श्रीमदेव) विजयराज्ये।

[2] Canto XVI, V. 33: तां पार्वती क्ष्मां कुमारपाल पर्णी यशोममानामवितत्यथोचे।
पतिः स्वकीयो नृपतेर्न्हीयमदातियुग्विक्रमसिंहनामा ॥

of Candrāvatī.[1] The *Kumārapāla-carita* refers to this event in these words: the Caulukya king Kumārapāla suppressed the rebellion of Vikramasiṁha the lord of Candrāvatī and having imprisoned him, installed his nephew Yaśodhavala in his place.[2]

Yaśodhavala: Yaśodhavala of the above two Jain works is, undoubtedly, identical with the prince of that name mentioned as the son of Rāmadeva in the Lūṇa temple epigraph of Mt. Abu. It is referred to there that he killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when the latter became hostile to the Caulukya prince.[3] It appears, therefore, that he was a vassal of Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.). The above references prove that Vikramasiṁha was a brother of Rāmadeva and might have been placed in Candrāvatī as his feudatory by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.). The period, known from the inscriptions of Yaśodhavala, is from V.E. 1202 to 1208 (A.D. 1146-1152).

Dhārāvarṣa: According to the same Jain inscription Yaśodhavala was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarṣa who claimed to have defeated the lord of Koṅkaṇa, no doubt, in the interests of his sovereign the Caulukya Kumārapāla.[4] The name of this Koṅkaṇādhīśa is mentioned in the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* as Mallikārjuna, as a southern enemy of Kumārapāla.[5] The late Pt. G. H. Ojha has discovered so far fourteen stone inscriptions and one copper plate ranging from V.E. 1220 (*c.* 1163 A.D.) to V.E. 1276 (*c.* 1219 A.D.), on the reign of Dhārāvarṣa. We have fortunately two Jain inscriptions and one colophon of the *Jñātādharmakathā-Ratnacūda-kathā* for the date of his reign besides stray literary references.

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1 *SJGM.*, XIII, pp. 199–202 : तथा श्रीरामदेवाख्य तद्भ्रातुर्नन्दनं नृपः ।
श्रीयशोधवलं चन्द्रावत्यामेत्रन्यवीविशत् ॥

2 IV, Vs. 452, 53 : हक्कयित्वेति चौलुक्यः स्थापयामास तं रुषा ।
नरकावासवत्क्लेशमये काराग्रहान्तरे ॥
तदैव तस्य भ्रातृव्यं रामदेवसुतं प्रभुः ।
यशोधवलनामानं चक्रे चन्द्रावतीपतिम् ॥

3 *EI.*, VIII, pp. 211–16, V. 35 : यश्चौलुक्यकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतम् . . . . बल्लाल-मालब्धवान् ।

4 *Ibid.*, V. 36 : शत्रुश्रेणीगलविदलनोन्निद्रनिर्स्त्रिंशधारो ।
धारावर्षः समजनिसुतस्तस्य विश्वप्रशस्यः ।
क्रोधाक्रान्तप्रधनवसुधानिश्चले यत्र जाता-
श्चोतन्नेत्रोत्पलजलकणाः कौंकणाधीशपत्न्यः ॥

5 B.S. Series, No. LX, Canto VI, V. 65 : आरोलियसरमालावमालणोमल्लि अज्जुणोराया (पुञ्जियपहुलञ्जिर गुज्जरेहि जीहाविओ तेहि)।

The colophon gives us the date V.E. 1221, when that work was copied in the reign of the king Dhārāvarṣa who enjoyed the pleasure of king Kumārapāla of Aṇahillapāṭaka.[1]

The two inscriptions are as follows:—

I. Jhāloḍi inscription was found in a Jain temple at Jhāloḍi in the Sirohi district (Rājasthāna). It opens with the invocation of the lord Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra). It records the erection of a *Saṭka-catuṣṭīka* in V.E. 1252 when the king Dhārāvarṣa was ruling at Candrāvatī. The inscription mentions his wife's name as Sṛṅgāradevī, a daughter of Kelhaṇadeva (Nadol Cāhamāna). It also refers to V.E. 1255 (A.D. 1198) when all the people of *Goṣṭka* erected a door for their benediction. The inscription was composed by one Tilakaprabhasūri.[2]

II. Ārāsaṇā inscription was found in a temple at Ārāsaṇā in the Sirohi District of Rājasthān. It records that in V.E. 1276 (A.D. 1219) an image of Sumatinātha was installed in the victorious reign of Śrī Dhārāvarṣa, Māṇḍalika Suraśambhu (Maṇḍaleśvara).[3]

The colophon mentioned above shows that he was a feudatory chief of Kumārapāla. The Ārāsaṇā inscription also refers to him as a feudatory chief. The other so many inscriptions indicate that his reign was a long one of fifty-six years (*c.* 1163-1219 A.D.), and he enjoyed it as a loyal feudatory of no less than four Caulukya kings from Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) to Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241 A.D.).

The *Prabandha-kośa* states:—

'One Vastupala, the worthy minister of Vīradhavala, was informed that Suratrāṇa Mojadīna (Sultāna Sihāb-ud-dīn) was advancing westward from Delhi. It was felt that they might invade the land of Gujarāta through the pass of Arbuda. Vīradhavala feared very much because he knew that all the powerful kings like Jayacandra and Pṛthvīrāja were killed by these Muslim invaders. Vastupāla, on the other hand, quickly made ready to check them and ordered Dhārāvarṣa,

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[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 109: संवत् १२२१ श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके .... श्रीकुमारपालदेवप्रसादास्पदश्रीधारावर्षनरेन्द्रराज्ये....लिखितम् ।

[2] *Arbuda-Lekha-sandoha*, IV, No. 311, p. 108.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 21, p. 6.

a feudatory in charge of the Arbuda, to restrict their further advance, who on his part did it.[1]

As to when this event took place is the query before us. The younger brother of Dhārāvarsa by name Prahlādanadeva composed a play, *Pārtha-parākrama*, in which it is stated that Dhārāvarsa repulsed the mighty assault by the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja (III), the king of Jāṅgala. We know from the chronology of the Cāhamānas that Pṛthvīrāja was slain by Sihāb-ud-dīn in V.E. 1249 (A.D. 1193) and Jayacand in V.E. 1251 (A.D. 1195). The date of Dhārāvarsa from the inscriptions is known as V.E. 1276 (*c.* 1218 A.D.). If the statement of the Jain author is reliable the event must have taken place before V.E. 1276. We, however, have no other corroboratory evidences for this fact. Mojadīna is regarded to be the other name of Sihāb-ud-dīn by scholars. The mention of his name, however, does not seem probable in that period for his existence is proved between 1173-1206 A.D. when Vastupāla was not the minister of Vīradhavala.

Prahlādanadeva: The same Lūṇa temple inscription informs us that Dhārāvarṣa had a younger brother by name Prahlādana who defended the Gurjara king when the latter's power was broken in the battle by (Guhila) Sāmantasiṁha.[2] The Gurjara king referred to in the inscription has been rightly identified with the Caulukya king Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76 A.D.). The *Prabandha-kośa* and the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* state that "Rāṇā Prahlādana, the founder of Prahlādanapura, of the Paramāra family, bearing the title *Kūrcāla Sarasvatī*, was in the company of Kumārapāla Caulukya at the time of a religious journey.[3] It is believed that he wrote a one-act play named *Pārtha-parākrama*. He was a man of various accomplishments.

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[1] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 117: देव! ढिल्लीतः श्रीमोजदीनसुरत्राणस्य सैन्यं पश्चिमां दिशामुद्दिश्य चालितम्। अर्बुदगिरिदिशा यवनाः प्रवेक्ष्यन्ति। इदं श्रुत्वा धारावर्षायार्बुदगिरिनायकाय स्वसेवकाय नरान् प्रेषयन्.... तेन तथैव कृतम्।

See also for the full discussion *JSS.*, III, Pt. I, pp 153–60.

[2] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 211–16, V. 38: सामन्तसिंह समितिक्षितिविक्षतौजः।
श्रीगुर्जरक्षितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासि॥
प्रह्लादनस्तदनुजोदनुजोत्तमारिः।
चारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार॥

[3] *EI.*, VIII, p. 205: श्रीमद्धूमदेवकुलोत्पन्नमहामण्डलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजये राज्ये तस्यैव महाराजाधिराज श्रीभीमदेवप्रसाद....

Somasiṁha: The same inscription, when read with another inscription of the same temple and of the same year, reveals that in 1287 V.E. (*c.* 1230 A.D.) Somasiṁha, the son of Dhārāvarṣa, was still ruling at Candrāvatī as feudatory of Bhīma II.[1] It is said in the inscription in the form of praise that Somasiṁha derived the merit of bravery from his father and learning from his uncle and charitability from both.[2] The two colophons of the Jain MSS give two dates of his reign. The colophon of the *Kulaka-prakaraṇa* written at Candrāvatī which bears the date V.E. 1279 states him simply Śrī Somasiṁha.[3] But the colophon of the *Ṛṣabhadeva-carita*, which was written at Prahlādanapura in the prosperous reign of Somasiṁha, bearing the date V.E. 1289, gives him the titles: *Samastarājāvalī-samalaṅkṛta-mahārajādhirāja*.[4]

Kānhaḍadeva: His son and successor was Kṛṣṇarāja (III),[5] whose name was also Kānhaḍadeva according to the other Jain inscription of the same date.[6]

Vīsaladeva: Our two Jain inscriptions, one from the village Dattāṇī near Mt. Abu and another from the Vimala temple at Mt. Arbud, inform us that Candrāvatī was still in possession of this branch.

The Dattāṇi village inscription, engraved on a pillar of a dilapidated Jain temple, records that "In the prosperous reign of the illustrious Sāraṅgadeva (Caulukya) when Mahārājādhirāja Vīsaladeva was prosperously ruling at Candrāvatī in V.E. 1345 on *Vaiśākha* 8th of the bright fortnight on Friday, Pratāpaśrī and Śrī Hemadeva of the Paramāra clan bestowed two fields for the expenses of lord Pārśvanātha.[7]

The Vimala temple inscription is found engraved on a stone in the outer wall of the temple No. 13 in the corridor, at Mt. Arbud. It states that in V.E. 1350 in prosperous reign of (so many titles) illustrious

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[1] *Ibid.*, V. 40: धारावर्षसुनोऽयं जयति श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः।
पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाद्दानमुभयतो जगृहे॥

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Praśasti-saṅgraha* (Ahmedabad), Pt. I, p. 83, No. 132.

[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 118, No. 153.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–16, V. 42: वसुदेवस्येव सुत: श्रीकृष्ण: श्रीकृष्णराजदेवोऽस्य।

[6] *EI.*, VIII, p. 206: श्रीचन्द्रावतीपति राजकुल श्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्र राजश्रीकान्हड-देव....।

[7] *Arbuda-prācīna Jain Lekha-sandoha*, Pt. V, pp. 21–22.

Sāraṅgadeva, when all the state business was transacted by the prime-minister Vādhuya, Mahārājakula (Governor) illustrious Vīsaladeva who lived on the pleasure of his sovereign king, bestows a land grant in the region of Aṣṭādaśaśatamaṇḍala (around Mt. Abu)." Then comes the description of the land grant.[1]

From these inscriptions it appears that Vīsaladeva was a most loyal feudatory of the Caulukya Sāraṅgadeva (1275-95 A.D.) who ruled at Candrāvatī, but we do not hear of him from any other sources. His relations with Kṛṣṇarāja (III) are not known.

We do not know of the other successors of Vīsaladeva from the Jain sources.

Pt. G. H. Ojha refers to a Pratāpasiṁha Paramāra known from the Pāṭanārāyaṇa *stone inscription wherein he comes in the third generation* from Kṛṣṇarāja (III).[2] The inscription gives the date V.E. 1344, which concords with the date of Vīsaladeva. Though his relations with Vīsaladeva or Kṛṣṇarāja are not known, we may, however, assume that he may have been the brother of Vīsaladeva for his date V.E. 1344 mostly coincides with Vīsaladeva's.

Another Vimala temple inscription of V.E. 1278 informs us that the Cāhamāna Lūṇiga with his two sons named Tejasiṁha and Tihuṇaka ruled over the Mt. Abu.[3] From the genealogy given in the same inscription it seems that he belonged to the Nāḍol branch of Cāhamānas. This shows that transference of power may have occurred between V.E. 1350 (1293 A.D.) and V.E. 1378 (1321 A.D.).

Concluding remarks: Taking into consideration the whole account of this family it may be said that all the members of this branch were feudatories of one or the other sovereign king of that time. Formerly they were the vassals of the main line of Mālava and in the war between the Caulukya and the Paramāras of Mālava they ever sided with them. But the continuous struggle between these powers reduced them to insignificance. That is why we find a gap of fifty years during which no trace of them is available. After that they emerged suddenly as feudatories of the Caulukyas of Gujarāta and ungrudgingly served them unto the last. Whoever might be the king

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1 *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 8.

2 *IA.*, 1916, pp. 77–80.

3 *EI.*, IX, p. 79 ff. श्रीमल्लम्भकनामा समन्वितस्तेजसिंहतिहुणाभ्याम्।
अर्बुदगिरीशराज्यं न्यायनिधिः पालयामास॥

on the throne of Aṇahilapāṭana they paid him their homage. Though Vikramasiṁha disowned his allegiance to Kumārapāla, he also got at the end his due punishment. We see several rapid changes and transference of power after Kumārapāla on the throne of Anahilapāṭana, but we never see any change in the allegiance of the members of this line.

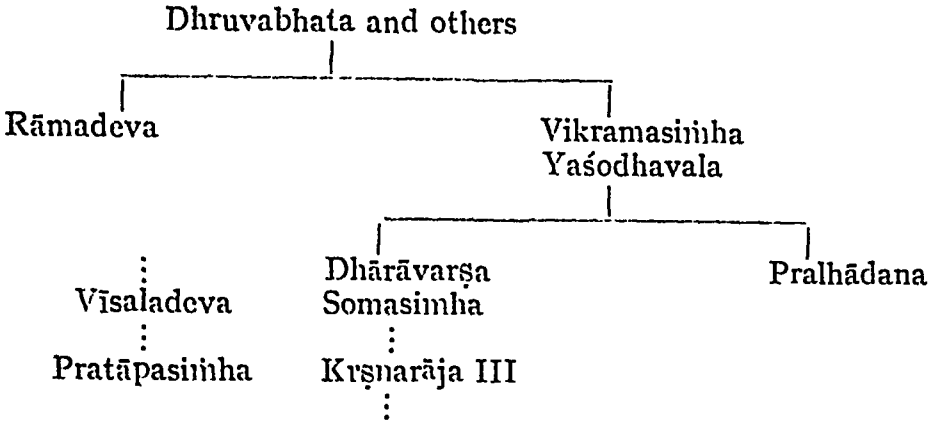
Dhārāvarṣa, the long-lived feudatory who survived his four sovereign kings, was the most faithful man who served all of them with equal vigour. His noble brother Prahlādanadeva was a man of various attainments.

Their territory was situated between the two powerful kingdoms—Sapādalakṣa and Aṇahilavāḍa, therefore, there was no opportunity to extend it. They waged several wars on behalf of their sovereign kings with the other powerful kings like Pṛthvīrāja and Sihāb-ud-dīn but they never sustained any reverse. A member of this branch, Yaśodhavala, led a successful expedition to the distant Konkan. Perhaps they maintained a good military force.

This family held its sway over the Mt. Arbud for more than three centuries of the Christian era with certain gaps. During this period the territory came to be called Aṣṭādaśaśatī province whose other name was Āsosiṭṭana according to Kinsariā stone inscription. They made the region quite prosperous.

It, however, appears from their inscriptions as well as literary sources that they ever linked their fate with their sovereign kings, the Caulukyas. and with their fall at last they disappeared totally. This small but promising family has a unique position in the history of India.

The genealogy of this branch according to the Jain sources may be constructed as follows:—

Dhūmarāja — Kānhaḍadeva
Adbhuta — Kṛṣṇarāja
Dharaṇīvarāha
Devarāja (*alias* Mahīpāla)
|
Dhandhuka
|
Kṛṣṇarāja II
:
a gap of fifty years
:
Dhruvabhaṭa and others

V. PARAMĀRAS OF KIRĀḌU

This branch of the Paramāras has been known from a damaged inscription found at Kirāḍu in the Jodhpur division of Rājasthāna

It consists of 26 lines in Saṁskṛt incised on a pillar of a temple of Śiva. It is fortunately dated V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1162) in the reign of Someśvara Paramāra who was a feudatory of Kumārapāla Caulukya.[1] The inscription begins with *'Oṁ namaḥ Sarvajñāya'*; therefore, it has been taken here as a Jain source.

After the invocation of *Sarvajña,* it devotes two verses to the praise of God Śiva, who was the family deity of the Caulukyas.

In verse 3 is traced the origin of the Paramāras from the sacrificial pit on Mt. Abu,[2] as we usually find concerning the origin of the other branches of the Paramāras. In verse 4 it is stated that there were a number of kings in that dynasty among whom was a powerful king by name Sindhurāja who ruled over Marumaṇḍala.[3] Prof. Ganguly suggests his identification with Sindhurāja (*c.* 996-999 A.D.) of Mālava line.[4] In verse 5 the next name is given by Dr. Bhandārkar as Ūsala (Utpala) and by Dr. Ganguly as Dūsala.[5] The next two verses are too much damaged. In

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[1] P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, Pt. I, pp. 251–53; *HIG.*, III, No. 149 B, pp. 173–76.

[2] *Ibid.*: वशिष्ठभूषितेर्बुदभूधरे। सुरम्यां....परमाराणां वंशोऽस्त्यनलकुण्डतः॥

[3] *Ibid.*: तत्रानेकमही....। सिन्धुराजो महाराजसमभून्मरुमण्डले॥

[4] *JBORS.*, XVIII, 1932, p 40 ff.

[5] *EI.*, Appendix, 43, No, 312; *JBORS.*, XVIII, p. 40 ff.

verse 8 occurs the name of Dharaṇīdhara who according to Pt. Ojha and Dr. Bhandārkar is identical with Dharaṇīvarāha, the son of Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja of the Arbuda branch.[1] From him was born Devarāja (*v.* 9). The name Devarāja is the other name of Mahīpāla of the Arbuda branch of the Paramāras. Then in line 11 Durlabharāja is mentioned and after him the name of Dhandhuka occurs. It is said of him that he became ruler of Marumaṇḍala after propitiating Durlabharāja.[2] We also know of Dhandhuka from the Vimala Jain temple inscription of Mt. Abu, that he, "averse from rendering homage to the Caulukya king Bhima I, took refuge with king Bhoja of Dhārā."[3] As Durlabharāja was the predecessor of Bhīma I, it appears in this context, from this inscription, that Dhandhuka's antagonism with Bhīma I began from the time of Durlabharāja Caulukya. Both the Caulukya kings seem to be contemporaries of Dhandhuka.

Members of this branch: From verse 13 begins the reference to the real members of this branch. The names of the members are Kṛṣṇarāja, Socarāja, Udayarāja, and Someśvara.[4] Pt. Ojha thinks that Socarāja was the son of the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa II (1060-67 A.D.). Nothing is known about Socarāja from the inscription, but he is accepted as the founder of the branch by all scholars.

Regarding Udayarāja, the next member, it is said that he subdued the countries of Coḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Mālava.[5] His son and successor was Someśvara. He is said to have regained his lost kingdom in V.E. 1199 (*c.* 1142 A.D.) through the assistance of the Caulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja according to one reading[6] and he regained the lost city of Sindhurājapura through the assistance of the above king according to another reading.[7] The inscription next mentions that in V.E. 1205 in the time of Kumārapāla, Someśvara consecrated a temple.[8] In V.E. 1218 Someśvara is said to have taken 1,700 horses and the forts of Taṇukoṭṭa and Navasāra from the Sindhurāja Jojjaka and made him a feudatory of Kumārapāla and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 40 ff.; *HR.*, I, pp. 171-72.

[2] श्रीदुर्लभराजोऽपि राजेन्द्रो रंजितो....धन्धुकः। .... येन दुर्वारवीर्येण भूपितं मरुमण्डलम् ॥

[3] See *supra*, p. 189.

[4] कृष्णराजो महाशब्दविभूषितः। तत्पुत्र सोचराजाख्यः etc.

[5] Vs. 15, 16.

[6] *EI.*, XX, Appendix, p. 47, No. 312.

[7] *HIG.*, III, No. 149 B, pp. 173-76.

[8] V. 21: पुनर्द्वादशसंख्येषु पंचाधिकशतेष्वलं, कुमारपालभूपात्सुप्रतिष्ठितमिदं कृतम् ॥

again settled there.[1] From these statements it appears that Someśvara himself was a feudatory of both the Caulukya emperors. Regarding Sindhurāja Jojjaka we know nothing from other sources.

It should be noted here that we have another inscription dated V.E. 1209 from Kirāḍu, of Nāḍol Cāhamāna Ālhaṇadeva, who was also a feudatory of Kumārapāla.[2] The inscription shows that Kirāḍu was in possession of Ālhaṇa through the favour of Kumārapāla. From this it would be assumed that some time after V.E. 1205 Someśvara was temporarily ousted from the Kirāḍu region and was again restored some time after before V.E. 1218, the date of the inscription.

Nothing more is known about Someśvara and his succession from any sources.

Thus the following princes are known from the inscription:—

Sindhurāja
:
Ūsala or Dūsala
x
x
Dharaṇīvarāha
|
Devarāja
|
Dhundhuka
|
Kṛṣṇarāja II
|
Socarāja
|
Udayarāja
|
Someśvara V.E. 1218 (1161 A.D.)

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[1] V. 3, 24–26 : वहुशः सेवकीकृत्य चौलुक्यजगतीपतेः ।
पुनः संस्थापयामास तेपु देशेषु जज्जकम् ॥

[2] *HIG.*, II, No. 148, 49.

CHAPTER IX

THE DYNASTIES OF SAURĀṢṬRA

I. THE CĀVAḌĀ OF AṆAHILAPUR

The Cāpa or Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvotkaṭa is the well-known Kṣatriya tribe which we come across during the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era. Cāvaḍā is the popular version of the above Sanskṛtised form of the name of this tribe.

Early account and position: The earliest mention of the Cāpas is found in the *Brahma-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta who wrote it at Bhīnamāla in 628 A.D.[1] When Yuan-Chwang visited Bhīnamāla about the year 642 A.D. a young Kṣatriya was ruling there. The Navasāri plates of Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya dated 470 A.D. also have a reference to this dynasty.[2] There they are mentioned after Saindhavas, Kacchelas and Saurāṣṭras and before Mauryas and Gurjaras. Thus it seems that they at that time were somewhere on the border of Kaccha, Kathiawāra and Gujarāta. The same plates record that they were troubled by the Arabs.[3] They appear to have been a very powerful people and resisted the invasion on their country by the Arabs. But in the beginning of the eighth century (*c.* 712 A.D.) the incessant raids of the Arabs, it seems, compelled them to transfer their capital from Bhīnamāla to Pañcāśara. In the opinion of the late Pt. G. H. Ojha, they were attacked at Bhīnamāla.[4] Pañcāśara, at present, is a small village near Rādhanapur on the border of the Ranna of Kaccha. The reference to Cāvotkaṭa in the Navasāri plates also suggests their position at that time, which mostly falls upon Pañcāśara.[5] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* mentions Pañcāśara in the region of Vaḍiyāra where Vanarāja Cāvaḍā was born.[6] The land between

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[1] *HR.*, pp. 56 and 131: श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे पञ्चाशत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पञ्चभिरतीतैः। ब्राह्मः स्फुटसिद्धान्तः कृतो . . . .ब्रह्मगुप्तेन।

[2] *ABORI.*, X, p. 13: नग्कतरलतरवारिदारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्रचावोटकमौर्यगुर्जरादि राज्ये निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजिगीषया दक्षिणापथप्रवेशे प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानीके।

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Rajapulana-ka Itihas*, Pt. I, p. 146.

[5] D. K. Shastri, *Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājapūta Itihas*, Pt. I, p. 50.

[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 12: गुर्जरभुवि वढियारभिधानदेशे पञ्चासरग्रामे चापोत्कटवंश्यम् etc.

Kaccha and Gujarāta from the Ranna of Kaccha up to Rādhanapur is called the region of Vaḍiyāra. This almost tallies with the reference to the Navasāra plates wherein the position of Cāvaḍās is mentioned. The Jain chroniclers mostly attach them with their capital Pañcāsara.

Before going to deal with the history of this family we may say frankly that we have no contemporary epigraphs of the Cāvaḍās to corroborate the facts derived from the Jain and other sources.

All the literary sources on the Cāvaḍās may be divided into three classes. They are: (i) the bardic version contained in the *Ratnamālā* (*c.* 1230 A.D.) of Kṛṣṇakavi; (ii) the Brahmanical version contained in the *Dharmāraṇya-māhātmya* and (iii) the Jain version as found in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and other prabandhas. All of them belong to the twelfth and later centuries while the family was ruling in the period two centuries earlier (*c.* 750-956 A.D.). Nevertheless, the tradition recorded by the chroniclers of Gujarāta should not be discarded on this ground. It is an important family, because it forms a link between the early and later mediaeval periods of Gujarāta.

Early reference: The prabandha writers trace the starting-point of the rise of this Cāpotkaṭa family to Vanarāja of Pañcāsara who in his later life founded the city of Aṇahillapura. The earliest reference to this family is found in the Vaḍanagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla dated V.E. 1208 (A.D. 1152).[1] This inscription confirms the fact that the Cāvaḍās were ruling at Aṇhilavāḍa in the tenth century, for it states that Mūlarāja gained Aṇahillapura by overthrowing the Cāvaḍā. An Apabhraṁśa work *Nemināha-cariu* of Haribhadrasūri contains the earliest reference to Vanarāja in its colophon dated V.E. 1216 (*c.* 1160 A.D.).[2] It denotes the way in which Vanarāja tried to make his city prosperous and strengthened his kingdom. It states:—

> In the town of Gambhūya there was an elderly rich merchant by name Thakkura Ninnaya, whom Vanarāja honoured as a father (*Janayabuddhiā*). Once he requested Ninnaya to reside in his own capital of Aṇahillapāṭaka. There Ninnaya built a temple of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṁkara of the Jainas. This Ninnaya's son named Lahara

[1] *EI.*, I, p. 293.

[2] *Sanatkumāra-caritaṁ*: A section from Haribhadra's *Nemināha-cariu* edited by H. Jacoby, 152: आदा अवसरि जगय बुडीये चावुक्कडराय लालिओ वसिओ। एवं च ठिए सामिय जं जाणसि तं करिज्जासु।

became a general of the armies of Vanarāja. Lahara went to the Vindhya Mountains and caught many elephants. Lahara presented his elephants to Vanarāja who being satisfied with his work rewarded him with the grant of the village Sandāthala.[1]

From this statement we may imagine as to how Vanarāja got the help of powerful and rich persons in strengthening his army and treasury.

Another Jain work the *Moharāja-parājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla referring to the Cāvaḍā in general states that they were addicted to drinking liquors excessively.[2] It also records that "formerly the king Śrī Vanarāja observing the good features of the land founded a city on it."[3] In the same play Kumārapāla is addressed as one enjoying the kingship earned by Śrī Vanarāja.[4] The same tale is recorded in the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*[5] of Hemacandra and in the *Prabandha-cintāmani* of Merutuṅga.[6] Abhayatīlakagaṇi, the learned commentator of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, frankly says that it is a *'Loka Śruti'*, *i.e.*, the hearsay of the people.[7]

Parentage: From the early references to Vanarāja we now come to his parentage which furnishes certain clues to the early history of the family. It is stated in one place in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that Cāvaḍā belonged to the Haihaya race.[8] Regarding the parentage of Vanarāja, however, opinions differ. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states:—

> "A part of Kānyakubja (Kingdom) was *Gurjara dharitrī*. There in the village of Pañcāsara in the province of Vadiyāra a mother placed his son of Cāpotkaṭa clan in a cradle under a tree called *Vaṇa* and

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[1] Introduction of *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. ciii.

[2] *GOS.*, IX, V. 47, p. 108: इह चवलड्ढेसु चिरं चाउक्कडराय etc.

[3] *Ibid.*, Act III, p. 67.

[4] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 108.

[5] Canto I, V. 4.

[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 13: अथ निजराज्याभिषेकाय राजधानीनगरनिवेशचिकीर्षुः भूमिमवलोकमानः .... अणहिल्लनाम्ना पृष्टः किमवलोकयन् इति तैः प्रधानैरभिहिते यदि तस्य नगरनिवेशस्य मन्नामधेयं ततस्तां भुवमावेदयामि इत्यभिधाय जाल्मिसमीपे गत्वा .... भुवं दर्शयामास। तत्र प्रवेशे अणहिल्लपुरमिति नाम्ना नगरम्।

[7] *DV.*, *Canto* I, p. 8: पूर्वं किल राज्ञा नवपुरनिविविक्षया अणहिल्लो नाम गोपालो दृष्टः .... तत्रैव चाणहिल्लेन वनराजराजः पुरनिवेशं स्वनाम्ना कारित इति लोकश्रुतिः।

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 16: स्वर्ग एव वनं जगाद स प्रभुश्चापोत्कटानां विमोक्षे हैहयभूरतः गुणवती कन्यास्ति ....।

herself went to gather fuel. By the way a Jain monk named Śīlaguṇasūri came there and observed that the shade of the tree, even though it was afternoon, was not bending. Thinking that this was due to mysterious powers of the boy who would become a *Jinaśāsana prabhāvaka i.e.*, a propagator of the Jain faith, he brought him from the mother by giving her the means of subsistence." Then he was brought up by *Gaṇinī* (head nun) Vīramatī and was given the name of Vanarāja [1] When he was eight years old he was asked to look after the holy things so that they might not be damaged by rats. He did this by killing them with arrows. The Jain monk foresaw from his horoscope that he was to become a great king and so he was returned to his mother. Vanarāja lived with his maternal uncle who was leading the life of a bandit.[2]

The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* does not mention his mother's name and states a somewhat different tale:—

In the village of Ambāsaṇā, there lived two brothers named Caṇḍa and Cāmuṇḍa of the Cāpotkaṭa clan. An astrologer informed them that the child which the wife of Cāmuṇḍa was bearing in the womb, when born, would kill Caṇḍa. So she was abandoned. She went to Pañcāsara where she made her livelihood by gathering fuel and other things. The Śīlaguṇasūri, who had gone out, saw the shade of *Vaṇa* tree uninclined. He, therefore, considered the boy as an auspicious one. The mother was given shelter in a caitya or temple where he resided.[3]

The bardic version *Ratnamālā* of Kṛṣṇakavi narrates:—

"Jayaśekhara, the king of Cāvaḍā family of Pañcāsara, was attacked by Bhūvada of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in the Kānyakubja province in V.E. 752 (A.D. 695). The city of Pañcāsara was besieged by the attacking army. The siege continued for fifty-two days. When Jayaśekhara saw that he could no longer hold against the enemy he sent away his queen Rūpasundarī who was pregnant to a forest nearby with her brother Surapāla, who was his general, but afterwards turned to be an outlaw. Jayaśekhara died fighting. In the forest Rūpasundarī delivered a son

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 12: वनराजादि प्रबन्धः।

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Vanarājavṛttam*, p. 12: आम्बासणग्रामस्तव्यचापोत्कटज्ञातीयचण्डचामुण्डाभिधौ भ्रातरावभूताम् .... स सगर्भा परिहृता। ततः सा पंचासरग्रामं गता औञ्छवृत्त्या जीवति etc.

who was named as Vanarāja. Bhūvaḍa grew fond of Gujarat but was induced to return to his capital under pressure from his general."[1]

The *Dharmāraṇya-māhātmya* supplies some more details:—

"When seven hundred years had elapsed after Vikrama, Āma, the ruler of Kanauj, drove out the king of Kheṭakapura, then the capital of Gujarāta, and occupied the land. At that time, Dhruvapaṭa, a descendant of the Solar race, ruled over Valabhi. Āma gave one daughter in marriage to the king of Valabhi and another to the king of Lāṭa. The ruler of Kanauj converted both his sons-in-law to Buddhism and gave Gujarat to his daughter in dowry. It was, therefore, annexed to Valabhi. The Brahmanas, thereupon, left the country and sought refuge with Jayaśekhara of Pañcāsara. The king of Valabhi, therefore, invited his father-in-law Āma to attack Jayaśekhara, which he did. Jayaśekhara met heroic death in the battle. Akṣaṭā, the queen of Jayaśekhara, was sent to a forest, where the Brāhmaṇas gave her asylum and forecasted a royal future for her son."[2]

From all these stories it comes out that the prabandhas and other literature are not unanimous about the parentage of Vanarāja. But it is certain that Vanarāja was connected with Pañcāsara in the earlier part of his life.

Certain Problems: In order to discover the historical truth in these legends, certain points require elucidation. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* noted above Gujarāta was a part of Kānyakubja country at the time of Vanarāja's birth. And accoring to the *Ratnamālā*, which Forbes follows, king Jayaśekhara was slain by Solankee king Bhūvaḍa of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka. Our prabandha writers know two Kalyāna-kaṭakas as one in the Kānyakubja country and the other in the Deccan. They, however, never know any of the Kalyāṇa-kaṭakas in the sense of the capital of Solankee Rājā Bhūvaḍa. Certain scholars conjecture that Bhūvaḍa may have been a corrupted form of Bhuvanāśraya, a name given to the Cālukya king Vijayāditya of Bādāmi (A.D. 696-733) and by Kalyāṇa the author, undoubtedly, means Kalyāṇa of Deccan, the capital of later Cālukyas. But it was founded by the year A.D. 1053. It, therefore, seems that the writer of the *Ratnamālā* is involved in an anachronism. Since, according to the Navasāri plates,

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[1] *Rāsamālā*, I, pp. 26–36.

[2] The legends are mentioned briefly by V. K. Shastri in Forbes *Rāsamālā* (G. Ed.), I, 34.

Pañcāsara was destroyed by the Arabs, the bardic version, the *Ratnamālā*, may not be taken as reliable in this respect.[1]

Besides this anachronism if we consider the case of Pañcāsara as forming part of Kānyakubja at the time of the birth of Vanarāja (V.E. 752-A.D. 696), there is one more anachronism. We know from the history that the kingdom of Kanauj was under a chaotic condition after the death of Harsavardhana. The only king before the advent of the Pratīhāras at Kānyakubja was Yaśovarman. But it is not mentioned anywhere that the northern Gujarāta was under his dominion. If at any time Gujarāta formed a part of Kānyakubja kingdom, it was during the reign of the later Pratīhāras of Kanauj. It, therefore, seems that the later tradition has been wrongly recorded by the Jain prabandhas, like the early one, which is obviously an anachronism.

This anachronism may be explained further. Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* records a legend which seems to have contained some historical facts concealed in it. It states as to how a king of Kānyakubja married the daughter of a king of Gujarat; how Vanarāja was appointed to collect from Gujarat the marriage cess which the king of Kānyakubja had given to his daughter by way of dowry; how Vanarāja collected the cess and gave the collections to a deputation from Kānyakubja; how he waylaid it and secured the money which he used for consolidating his power.[2] The *Dharmāraṇya-māhātmya* also states that when the boy grew up he organized a band of bandits and when the revenue collectors of the king of Kanauj were proceeding to Kanauj with the collections he fell upon them and robbed them of the treasure. We have to think in this connection as to who the king of Kānyakubja was whose revenue was collected in that early period in Gujarat. We have seen that Gujarat was under the sway of the later Gurjara Pratīhāras of Kanauj. The period to which they belonged is quite later than that of Vanarāja. If we go to the history of the predecessors of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, we certainly get some solutions to this puzzle. We are told that a forefather of the above Pratīhāras, by name Nāgabhaṭa I (*c.* 725-750 A.D.) was laying the foundation of future greatness of the Pratīhāra empire somewhere in the Marumaṇḍala, who is said

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[1] *Rāsamālā*, I, Appendix to Chapter II, p. 36.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 12: अथ कन्यकुब्जादायात पञ्चकुलेन तद्देशराज्ञः सुतायाः श्रीमहणकाभिधानाया कञ्चुकसम्बंधे पितृप्रदत्तगुर्जरदेशस्योद्ग्रहणहेतवे समागतेन सेल्लभृद्वनराजाभिधानश्चक्रे। षाण्मासीं यावद्देशमुद्ग्राह्य.... स्वदेशंप्रति प्रस्थितं पञ्चकुलं सौराष्ट्राभिधानघाटे वनराजो निहत्य अणहिल्लपुरमिति नाम्ना नगरं निवेशयामास।

to have defeated a vast army of Mlecchas.[1] This period is also regarded as one of continuous raids by Arabs. The events relating to the king of Kānyakubja recorded in the above legends seem to indicate that Nāgabhaṭa I may have been the king with whom the Cāvaḍās of Pañcāsara might have come in conflict and who seems to have been confused by the above chroniclers with his successors, who ruled the dominion from Kanauj.

The ruin of his fortune led Vanarāja to become an outlaw against the Pratīhāras and avenge himself by robbing and killing the officers of the king. When he had sufficient means, he founded a kingdom with Aṇahilavāḍa as its capital.

Foundation of Aṇahilapāṭana: The prabandhas state that the city of Aṇahilavāḍa was founded by Vanarāja after a shepherd named Aṇahila who had pointed out a spot where a hare was chased by dog. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* gives V.E. 802 (746 A.D.) as the date of Vanarāja's installation while in the *Vicāraśreṇi*, V.E. 821 (765 A.D.) is given as the date of the foundation of the city.[2] The *Dharmāraṇya* records the date of foundation of the city as V.E. 802.[3] According to Mr. Ramlāl Modi who has worked on the chronology of Cāvaḍās the year V.E. 802 seems to be correct. The city also contains some relics of the Cāvaḍā rule.[4]

Genealogy and chronology: According to the prabandhas and other literary sources the family of Vanarāja consisted of eight members who ruled for 196 years. The period of their reign begins from V.E. 802 (746 A.D.) and ends in the year V.E. 998 (941 A.D.). As regards the individual members of the dynasty, their succession and duration of reign, we have several authorities at our disposal. They, however, differ so much that it is very difficult to reconcile them. The following works for the genealogy may be consulted here: (1) the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, (2) the *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*, (3) the *Sukṛta-kīrtikallolinī*, (4) the *Vicāraśreṇi*, (5) the *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, (6) the *Dharmāraṇya*, (7) the *Ratnamālā*, (8) the *Mirat-e-Ahmadi*, (9) the *Pravacana-parīkṣā*, (10) the *Rajāvalī-koṣṭhaka* and (11) the bardic *Copaḍās*.

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[1] Gwalior Ins. of Bhoja I, *EI.*, XVIII, p. 99 ff., V. 4.

[2] *JSS.*, II, No. 4: p. 9: तद्नु सं. ८२१ वर्षे .... चाउडावंशोत्पन्नः श्रीवनराजः श्रीअणहिल्पुरमवस्थापयत् ।

[3] Canto 66, V. 85.

[4] *Kāntamālā*, foundation date of Pāṭana, p. 156.

As regards the early limit of the reign of the Cāvaḍās we have to consider the date of Vanarāja. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* does not mention the date of birth of Vanarāja but it records V.E. 862 (805 A.D.) as the date of his death when he was 109 years and some months old.[1] If we subtract 109 from 862 we get V.E. 753 (A.D. 697) is the date of birth of Vanarāja. According to the same authority he was appointed at the age of 50 in the year V.E. 802 (746 A.D.) when he founded the city of Aṇahillapura. In the foregoing pages we have discussed that by the year 740 A.D. (Navasāri plates) the Cāvaḍās of Pañcāsara were attacked by the Arabs. Vanarāja at that time may have been 44 years old for he was 50 years of age in the year 746 A.D. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that when Vanarāja was a child in the cradle, his mother was very poor, and she collected the fuel. The *Ratnamālā* and *Dharmāraṇya* inform us that the king of Pañcāsara was killed by the king of Kanauj (suggested by me as Nāgabhaṭa I) and then was born Vanarāja. If the long age of 109 years of Vanarāja be accepted, this would mean that the misfortune of the family might have befallen in the year of his birth *i.e.,* V.E. 752 (698 A.D.). This period is obviously quite earlier than that of the Navasāri plates which proves the existence of Cāvaḍā at Pañcāsara in 739 A.D., and then that of Nāgabhaṭa I (725-756 A.D.). In the above light it seems that there is some mistake in recording the rather unusually long age of 109 years of Vanarāja.

Moreover, the coronation year V.E. 802 (746 A.D.) of Vanarāja also seems rather improbable. When we reconcile the statement of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* with the Navasāri plates and Nāgabhata I, the year 746 A.D. (V.E. 802) seems more probably the date of birth of Vanarāja. The *Vicāraśreṇi* gives us V.E. 821 (A.D. 764) as the foundation date of Anahillapur by Vanarāja.[2] By that time he must have been nineteen years old which seems to me as the coronation date.

The foundation of Aṇahilavāḍa by Vanarāja is a matter of controversy. One Jain authority Jinaprabha in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* states that the city was built on the site of a town known as Lakharāma, which is stated to have been founded in V.E. 502 (446 A.D.).[3] It seems, however,

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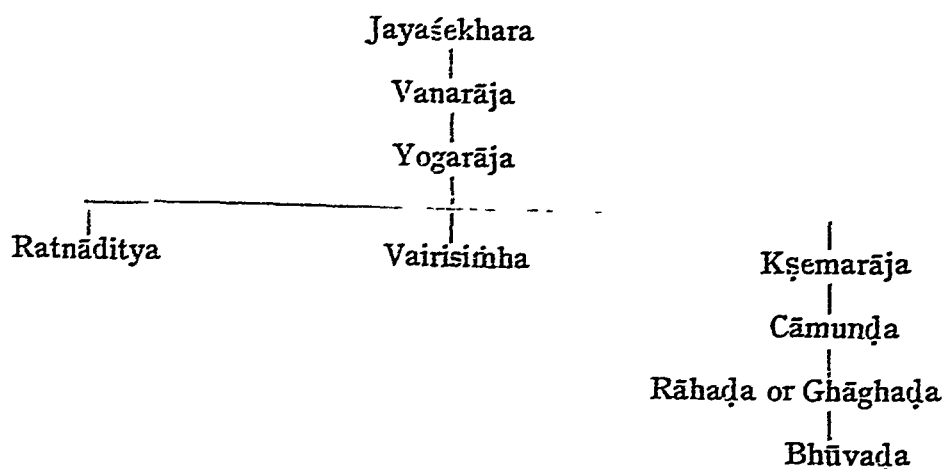
[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 13–14: श्रीवनराजस्य सर्वायुर्वर्ष १०९ सं ८६२ वर्षे श्रीयोगराजस्य राज्याभिषेकः ।

[2] *JSS.*, II, No. 3, p. 9.

[3] *SJGM.*, X, p. 51: सोय धयारोवमहूसवो विक्कमाइच्चाओ पंचसुसएसुदुत्तरेसु वरिसाण (५०२) अइक्कंतेसु संवुत्तो ।

that Vanarāja might have been born at that place and thus all the credit of foundation of the city might have been given to him.

On the other hand, if we accept the traditional age of Vanarāja *i.e.*, 109 years, we should then assume that at the time of the Arab attack at Pañcāsara, Vanarāja must have been near about 43 years and lived on with his father. At that time, perhaps, they might have survived from the sweeping attack of the Arabs, but when his father was slain by Nāgabhaṭa I, he might have led a life of an outlaw against the reigning power. In that case all the events relating to the birth of Vanarāja would be regarded as mere myth. On the whole, these arguments regarding the early date of the Cāvaḍā are based on mere hypothesis and we have no documentary evidence for it. But about the last date of this family we have an epigraphical evidence. The Sāmbhara stone inscription of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja states that at the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Mūladeva came to the crest of the earth in the Caulukya dynasty.[1] The *Vicāraśreṇi* gives us V.E. 1017 as the last limit of the Cāvaḍā reign, and as the accession date of the Caulukya Mūlarāja.[2] From these two statements, it appears that while the Sāmbhara inscription of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja records the date of Mūlarāja's birth, 998 A.D., the *Vicāraśreṇi* states the year of his accession which according to it is V.E. 1017.

The following is the dynastic tree of the Cāvaḍās:—

[1] *IA.*, 1929, pp. 234–36.
[2] *JSS.*, II, No. 4, p. 9.

Vanarāja: The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* records the tradition that Vanarāja founded the city by building a *Dhavalagṛha* (white house, *i.e.* a royal court or palace) under a Jāli tree. The *Tilaka* ceremony was performed by his adopted sister Śrīdevī.[1] He made Jāmba, a merchant, his *Mahāmātya* (the chief-minister).[2] It has been already mentioned above that according to *Nemināha-cariu,* Lāhara, son of Ninnaya, was the general of the armies of Vanarāja. We learn from the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that Vanarāja invited Śīlaguṇasūri from Pañcāsara and showed his gratitude by requesting him to occupy his throne and accept his whole kingdom, which naturally the sage refused.[3] At his suggestion, however, he built a Caitya—a temple—which was known as the Pañcāsara caitya in which the idol of Pārśwanātha brought from Pañcāsara was installed. He also built another temple in honour of the goddess Kanteśwarī or Kaṇṭheśvarī known as *Kaṇṭeśvari-prāsāda.*[4] Arisiṁha also refers to the former temple as if it were a mountain.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that Vanarāja ruled for 59 years[5] and some months. The *Vicāraśreṇi* assigns him 60 years.[6]

We have no information as to the extent of his dominions.

From the above narratives, Vanarāja appears in his early life as a cruel man killing and plundering here and there and behaving like a rebel. In spite of this he was possessed of certain good qualities which enabled him to win the support of powerful and rich persons in strengthening his army and treasury. He was a promising man and he fulfilled the promises he made to others in his early life of a vagabond. He seems also to have been a man with a sense of gratitude. He gave the name of his capital after the name of a person who showed him a piece of land which he was searching for. His ministers were those persons who helped him in his early life. Even his *Tilaka* ceremony was performed by that lady who gave him food and dress. His leaning towards the Jain monks was natural because he and his mother were blessed by them. It is said in the *Prabhāvaka-carita* that he gave certain rights to *Caityavāsi* monks (by whom he was benefited) as against

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, 13: प्रतिपन्नभगिनीं श्रियादेवीमाहूय तया कृततिलकः।

[2] *Ibid.*: सजाम्बाभिधानो वणिग्महामात्यश्चक्रे।

[3] *Ibid.*: पञ्चासरग्रामतः श्रीशीलगुणसूरीन् सभक्तिकमानीय....।

[4] *Ibid.*: श्रीपार्श्वनाथप्रतिमालंकृतं पञ्चासराभिधानं चैत्यं निजाराधकं मूर्तिसमेतं च कारयामास। धवलगृहे कण्टेश्वरीप्रासादश्च कारितः।

[5] P. 13: सं. ८०३ पूर्वं निरुद्धं वर्ष ६९ मास, दिन २१ श्रीवनराजेन राज्यं कृतम्।

[6] *JSS.*, II, No. 3–4, p. 9.

the Suvihita monks.[1] He was certainly a dauntless man and his kingly qualities assisted him to regain the fortune of his family which was ruthlessly destroyed by the enemies.

Yogarāja: According to the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana, Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and *Vicāraśreṇi,* Vanarāja was succeeded by his son Yogarāja.[2] He has been assigned a reign of 10 years in the A and D MSS of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and 35 years and a life of 120 years, in the other MSS of the same work[3]; while the *Vicāraśreṇi* gives only 9 years for his reign.[4] If we accept the version of A-D MSS, which agrees approximately with that of the *Vicāraśreṇi* in different regnal years and in order of succession with those of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* and *Vicāraśreṇi,* we can deduct twenty-five years from 120 years of his life. That will give him a life of about 95 years.

Wrong Identification Confuted: This Yogarāja has been identified by Messrs. Dikṣit and Diskalkar with Yogarāja of Harsola grants of Sīyaka dated V.E. 1005 (949 A.D.). This identification is obviously wrong as the last date of Yogarāja Cāvaḍā falls in V.E. 897 (842 A.D.) which is an early period of about 100 years. To rectify this error they assume that either there may have been one more Yogarāja after Ghāghaḍa Cāvaḍā whose name is not recorded by the Jain chroniclers or Yogarāja may be another name of Sāmantasiṁha (V.E. 930–938) who was killed by Mūlarāja Caulukya.[5] But their assumption has no support at all. Mr. Rāmlāl Modi, on the other hand, assumes that Avanivarman *alias* Yoga, a feudatory of Mahendrapāla Pratīhāra, may have been identical with Yogarāja Cāvaḍā. But the date revealed by the inscriptions of Avanivarman (V.E. 956) shows that he belonged to a later period. Thus this identification also does not seem to be correct.[6] Merutuṅga gives the following information:—

> "Once during his reign, ships of a foreign king laden with rich cargo were driven by storm to Somanātha Paṭṭaṇa in Saurāṣṭra. His son Kṣemarāja requested his father, the king, to permit him to take possession of these foreign ships. He told him that 'there are in them

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[1] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 136, Vs. 71–81.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 14: संवत् ८३२ वर्षे श्रीयोगराजस्य राज्याभिषेकः ।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14: (i) [illegible] वर्ष [illegible] मास [illegible] दिन श्री योगराजेन राज्यं कृतम् ।
(ii) अनेन योगराजनाम्ना राज्ञा वर्ष ३५ राज्यं कृतम् विंशत्यधिकवर्षशते पूर्णे चिताप्रवेशः कृतः ।

[4] *JSS.*, II, No. 3–4. p. 9: तत्पुत्रेण योगराजेन वर्ष ९ कृतम् ।

[5] *PTOC.*, 1924, (Madras), pp. 303–08.

[6] *IA.*, XV, pp. 140–41.

a thousand, spirited horses and elephants, eighteen in number, and crores of other things. All these will go to their own country through our country. If Your Majesty will give the order, I will bring them to you.'[1]

When this proposal had been made to king, he forbade the attempt, But Kṣemarāja and his brothers, thinking that the king had grown senile, took possession of this foreign property as it was being carried through the boundary of their kingdom. This may be the boundary between Kathiawar and main land Gujarāta. When Yogarāja heard this news, he was deeply affected by this misdeed of his sons. He told them, "When in foreign countries, kings praise the government of all sovereigns, they say scornfully that in the land of Gujarat there is a government of robbers. When we are informed of this and similar facts by our representatives in their reports, we are afflicted, because we do, to certain extent, feel despondent on account of our ancestors."[2]

After saying this he fasted unto death for the sins of his sons. He is said to have built a temple of the goddess Yogīśvarī.[3]

Yogarāja's Successors: He had three sons by names Ratnāditya, Vairisiṁha and Kṣemarāja.[4] Kṣemarāja was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāja. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* his name was Bhūyaḍa. Cāmuṇḍarāja was followed by his son Ghāghaḍa who is also called Âhaḍa by the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*. The last king is called Bhūyagaḍ in the A-D MSS of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and Sāmantasiṁha in the present edition of the same. He is also called Bhūbhaṭa by the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* and Pūaḍ by the *Vicāraśreṇi*. Âgaḍa built two temples, one was known as *Āgaḍeśvara-prasada* probably dedicated to Śiva and the other known as *Kanteśvarī-prasāda*[5] dedicated to the goddess Kanṭeśvarī in whose honour, as we have seen, Vanarāja had also built a temple. The last king built a temple known as *Bhūyagaḍeśvara-prasāda*. He built also a rampart round Aṇahilapura, to protect the city.[6] Thus it appears that Cāpotkaṭas were great builders.

According to Merutuṅga the last king Sāmantasiṁha, who is Bhūyaḍa

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 14: देशान्तरीयस्य राज्ञः प्रवहणानि वात्यावर्तेन विपर्यस्तानि अन्यवेलाकूलेभ्यः श्री सोमेश्वरपत्तने समागतानि।

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*: अनेन भट्टारिका श्रीयोगीश्वरप्रासादः कृतः।

[4] *Rāsamālā*, Pt. I, Appendix, Chapter III, p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 15: अनेन कर्करायां पुर्या अगडेश्वरकण्टेश्वरीप्रसादौ कारितौ।

[6] *Ibid.*: अनेन राज्ञा भूयगडेश्वरप्रासादः कारितः श्रीपत्तने प्राकारश्च।

or Pūaḍ in other works, was murdered by his sister's son.[1] The *Vicāraśreṇi* is, however, silent on this point. The *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri confirms the view.[2]

The Vaḍanagara praśasti of Kumārapāla dated 1152 A.D. informs us that the Cāpotkaṭas were overthrown by Mūlarāja.[3]

According to a verse quoted in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, "this kingdom of the Gurjaras, even from the time of king Vanarāja, was established with the Jain *mantras* (counsels), its foes indeed has no cause to rejoice."[4] It is a question as to how much of this claim is historically correct. The official religion of the kings was, no doubt, Śaivism and Śaktism (they built many temples of these deities), but the influential persons in the state, the rich merchants like Ninnaya, his son Lāhara, chief-minister Jāmba etc. were probably most of them Jains. Thus the Jains occupied high posts in the state. So, from this point of view, the claim may be regarded valid at least partially. But as far as the political life of Cāpotkaṭas is concerned there is nothing characteristically Jain.

II. THE CAULUKYAS (SOLANKIS) OF GUJARĀTA.

Unlike the other dynasties we have copious Jain material for the political and social history of the Caulukyas of Gujarāta. The Jain writers of Gujarāta were more careful to record almost every incident of this family. It seems that they had developed greater historical sense during this age. The period of nearly three centuries and a half (961-1304 A.D.) over which the members of this dynasty ruled, is regarded as the most flourishing period of the Jain religion and its literature. The Jain writers were mostly associated with the state and government of that period and the information we get from them naturally presents before us a true picture of the age as far as it goes.

The capital of this family from the very beginning (from Mūlarāja) up to the end, was Aṇahilapāṭaka,[5] sometimes known as Aṇahillapura or Aṇhilapāṭaṇa also. Before the establishment of the Caulukyas, Cāvaḍas were ruling there, but they were the master of only a small principality.

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[1] *PC.*, p. 16: किंचिन् मातुलेन व्यापितो राज्ये तं निहत्य भव्य एव भूपतिर्बभूव।

[2] Canto I, V. 30, p. 1: सामन्तसिंहमातुलं निजमातुलं यः सकला निहत्य किल गुर्जरराज्यमाप।

[3] *EI.*, I, p. 293.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 13: गुर्जराणामिदं राज्यं वनराजात्प्रभृति।
जैनेन्द्र स्थापितं मंत्रैस्तद्द्वेषी नैव नन्दति।

[5] *DV.*, Canto I, V. 4: पुरं श्रिया सदाश्लिष्टं नाम्नाणहिल्लपाटकम्।

Caulukyas, unlike them, developed that small principality into an empire in which Gujarāta reached the climax of its glory.

We have seen in relation to the Gurjara Pratīhāras that the land of Gujarat formed a part of the great Pratīhāra empire at least up to *c.* 932 A.D. The colophon of the *Ārādhanākathākośa* referred to above clearly supplies us this information.[1]

Mūlarāja's Ancestors: The first member of this dynasty unanimously accepted is Mūlarāja who made the fortune of this clan bright. Several Jain authorities indisputably refer to his father's name as Rāji. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* records an interesting story relating to Rāji and his two brothers. The story runs thus:

> "The three brothers by name Rāji, Bīja, and Daṇḍaka born of the same mother and sons of Muñjāladeva of the family of the king Bhūyarāja previously mentioned (as the ruler of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in the country of the Kānyakubja) went on pilgrimage to Somanātha and paid their adorations to Him. On their return they were looking at the king Bhūyaḍadeva, while engaged in the amusement of horse race. When the king gave the horse a stroke with the whip, the Kṣatriya named Rāji who was dressed as a pilgrim was annoyed with that cut which was given inopportunely. He shook his head, and said, 'Alas, Alas'. When the king asked him the reason of his behaviour, he praised the particular pace performed by the horse, and considering it not inappropriate, said 'when you gave the horse a cut with the whip you made my heart bleed.' The story further states that the king Bhūvaḍa, being pleased, gave his sister's hands to the prince Rāji, thinking that he was of high birth. In due course his sister became pregnant and in the last stage she died suddenly. The ministers, thinking that if they did not take some steps the child would die also, performed the cæsarian operation and took the child out of her womb. The child was given the name Mūlarāja being born under the *nakṣatra Mūlā*. This prince by his general popularity due to his beautiful complexion and by his valour extended the sway of his maternal uncle. Under such circumstances, the king Bhūyaḍa, when intoxicated, used to have him crowned king and used again to depose him when he became sober, from that time forth a Cāpotakata gift has become a proverbial test. Being disappointed every day in this way, he made ready his followers, he killed Bhūyaḍa and became king in reality."[2]

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[1] *SJGM.*, XVII, p. 255.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 15–16: मूलराजप्रबन्धः।

The *Kumārapāla-prabandha* and an older *prabandha* name some of the ancestors of Mularāja as follows:—Bhūyada, Karnāditya, Candrāditya, Somāditya, Bhuvanāditya, and Rāji. Bhaumādıtya of this list seems to be identical with Muñjāla.[1]

The *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri, however, gives a different ancestry.

> "In the city of Madhupadma (possibly mod. Mathura) certain Caulukya, the noble Kṣatriya, established a kingdom. From him sprung the Caulukya family famous in the world. In the succession there was born a king named Siṁhavikrama, who had a son by name Harivikrama. Then there became 85 kings in the succeeding generations. Then a descendant named Sahajārāma arose in that family who had a son Dāḍaka or Danḍakka who got a victory over the king of Pipāsā. His successor was the king Kāñcivyāla who was succeeded by the king Rāji. He married the sister of the Gurjara king, Sāmantasiṁha, by name Līlā; the son of both was Mūlarāja. This Mūlarāja killed his maternal uncle and occupied the throne of the Gujaras by force."

According to certain scholars Kāñcivyāla of the above list is probably identical with Muñjāla mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintamaṇi* as the grandfather of Mūlarāja. According to them Kāncivyāla literally means the Vyāla of Kāñci that is the mad elephant, tiger or king of Kāñci (apparently in the south) and it might have been an honorific title of Muñjāla in praise of some of his exploits in the south. Our earlier literary source, the *Dvyāśraya-kavya*, records only Mūlarāja's father's name as Rāji, having called Mūlarāja as Rājıbhū and Rājinandana[2] which means son of Rāji and in one place it states that Mūlarāja was the son of the brother of Dāḍhaka. The learned commentator of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, however, gives the names of the three brother's as Rāji, Bīja and Dāḍhaka as mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*.[3] But that kāvya is silent about the other facts. Arisiṁha in his *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* states that after Bhūbhaṭa his sister's son came to his throne.[4]

From the above quotations some truth may be disentangled, for they certainly contain some elements of the fact. Mūlarāja's father is, undoubt-

[1] *BV.*, 1939, I, p. 85.

[2] *DV.*, IV, V. 63· गोपुञ्छीं तां चमूं शशंसुः समरक्षीतीं राजिनन्दनेन ।

[3] *Ibid.*, Canto 3, V. 99 and commentary on it. राजिर्बीजदड्कास्त्रयो भ्रातर आदिपुरुषा । राजेरपत्यं मूलराजो बीजदड्क्कयोस्तु भ्रातुष्पुत्रः ।

[4] Canto II, V. 1: पदेऽथ तस्याजनि भागनेय चौलुक्यवंशार्णवपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
श्रीमूलराजः प्रतिकूलराजसमूलनिर्मूलनबद्धमूल : ॥

edly, a historical figure. In one of his inscriptions Rāji is styled as *Mahārājādhirāja* or *Rājā*.[1] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁha and earlier than the two, the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, mention Mūlarāja as the sister's son of the last Cāvaḍā prince from whom he captured Anahilavāḍa. For his relation to the Cāvaḍā princes, we have no documentary evidence. The Vaḍanagor prasasti composed by the Jain Srīpāla dated 1152 A.D., however, confirms that Mūlarāja certainly took the kingdom from the Cāvaḍās.[2] The copper plates grant of a Jain temple known as the Varuṇaśarmaka grant of Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍa dated V. E. 1033 (977 A. D.) refers to the name of one of the forefathers of the dynasty as "*Caulkika rājavaṁśatilaka Śrīvyālakānti*."[3] This reference reminds us of the name Kāncikavyāla which occurs in the *Kumārapāla-carita* as the grandfather of Mūlarāja and who, on the other hand, has been identified with Muñjāla of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. His grandfather Muñjāla *alias* Vyālakānti, therefore, seems also to be a historical figure.

From all the above references, we may safely derive the conclusion that Rāji was a descendant or son of Vyālakānci or Kāncikavyāla or Muñjāla or Bhāumāditya, who in his turn was descended from Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyarāja. Before going to present any identification of this man we should inquire about the origin of the family and its original home.

Origin of the Family: It is very difficult to discover the one and real name of the family. We find several variants in the inscriptional as well as literary sources. Our earlier Jain authority known as Varunāśarmaka grant of Cāmuṇḍa of 977 A.D. refers to 'Culkika' as the name of the family.[4] Two other Jain inscriptions from the Mt. Abu, of about th 13 century, state that they were known as Caulukyas.[5] Several other Jain inscriptions discovered at the Mt. Girnar and near Khambāṭa repeat the same name of the family.[6] To confirm the later version of our Jain inscriptions we have an early authority other than the Jain, known as copper plates grant of Trilocanapāla of Lāṭa, dated 1050 A. D. which refers to the family name as the Caulukya.[7] In the Saṁskṛt Jain literature Hemacandra and later

[1] *IA.*, VI, p. 191 ff. etc.
[2] *EI.*, I, pp. 296, 301, V. 5.
[3] *HIG.*, Pt. III, p. 155.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, pp. 125, 137.
[6] *Ibid.* Pt. III, pp. 15, 36, 90, 103.
[7] *Ibid.*, Pt. III, miscellaneous inscriptions, p. 52.

writers prefer 'Cāulukyas' as the form of the family name.[1] But some of our Jain Prākṛt works mention them as Cālukkas.[2]

We, however, know from the early inscriptions (other than the Jain) belonging to the tenth century that they were called by several variants such as Calukika, Culukika, etc.[3] The Jain grant of the same period referred to above gives another variant Caulkika.

Whatever may be the variants of the name we can say on the basis of the Jain inscriptional as well as literary sources that downward to the eleventh century the word Caulukya is found generally preferred and adopted.

Referring to the etymological meaning of the word 'Caulukya' the Jain sources record the traditional myth of the origin of the Caulukyas. Several Jain authorities like the Vaḍanagar Praśasti of 1151 A.D., a Jain inscription of Khambāṭa of the 13th century, the commentary of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya Vasanta-vilāsa, Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti* and the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* etc. can be quoted as references. They all state that "once God Brahmā who was approached, while he was engaged in performing his Sandhyā devotions, by the gods with a request to create a hero to put an end to the increasing evil in the world, looked steadily into his Culuka and as a result, a hero named Culuka sprang up from it. From him sprang a race, renowned as Caulukya."[4] This kind of legend, however, can easily be described from the historical point of view. It seems, however, that the authors of this period were in the habit of investing any name with a myth while attempting an etymological elucidation of words.

As regards their race there are certain references in the Jain sources. Hemacandra in the ninth canto of his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* referring to the long conversation between the envoy of Bhima and the Kalacuri king Karṇa states that Bhīma was praised by Karṇa as belonging to the Lunar race and he also sang at that time the greatness of Purūravā etc., the early members of the race.[5] Having followed Hemacandra, Jinaharṣagaṇi in his *Vastupāla-carita* calls Bhima I as the ornament of the Lunar race.[6] It may be commented on this point that they are simply recording the tradition.

[1] *DV.*, Canto I, p. 39, चौलुक्यभूभुजाम् । *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, p. 10 : चौलुक्यवंशार्णव-पूर्णचन्द्रः . . . . ।

[2] *GOS.*, LXXVI, pp. 212, 254.

[3] D. K. Sastri, *Gujarātano Madhyakālīna Itihāsa*, I, pp. 118, 119.

[4] Cf. *Vaḍanagar Praśasti* V. 2. *DV.*, Canto I, Commentary of V. 2 : चुलुके संध्यावन्दनाय विधात्राम्बुनामृते हस्ते भटो इति ये चुलुक्याः ।

[5] Canto 9, Vs. 40–59. Cf. V. 42 : अवनि सोमवंशःश्रीकर्णलीलानिर्जयत्यसौ ।

[6] I, V. 79 : सोमवंशमलंकर्तुं पुनर्भीम इवाभवत् ।

Certain scholars on the basis of analogy in the forms of the words 'Cālukya' and 'Caulukya', regard all the Cālukyas as belonging to one stock. According to them the early Cālukyas of Bādāmi, and the two later Cālukyas (the one from Kalyāni known as the Western Cālukyas and the other from Vengi called the Eastern Cālukyas) as well as the Caulukyas of Gujarat must have had their common origin[1].

But the analogy of the form of names does not prove their assumptions fully correct for each of them traces their origin differently. The kings of the early Cālukya dynasty of Bādāmi do not record any supernatural origin of their family. They traced themselves up to their first ancestor in a quite human order. The Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi, on the other hand, traced their origin of the Lunar dynasty[2] and the migration from the north. Regarding the origin of the Western Cālukyas the grants of Vikramāditya VI claim them as being of Lunar origin[3] while the Jain poet Ranna, the court poet of Tailapa II, in the introduction to his poem, the *Gadāyuddha*, mentions their origin from Ayodhyāpura, "the lord of Ayodhyāpura."[4] Bilhaṇa, the court poet of Vikramāditya VI gives a similar story of supernatural origin of the Caulukyas as we have seen regarding the Caulukyas of Gujarāta, that is from the palm (*Culuka*) of Brahmā, and states that at first they ruled in Ayodhyā, but afterwards they came to Deccan.[5] Regarding the Caulukyas of Gujarāta we have seen that Hemacandra also maintains the view of their Lunar origin.

All these beliefs about the origin of the Caulukyas lead us to draw certain important conclusions. We know from history that these later Cālukya kingdoms including that of Gujarāta were founded in the later part of the tenth century after the disruption of the two great empires, the Rāṣtrakūṭa in the Deccan and the Pratīhāra in the north. This also we know that the later Cālukyas of Deccan were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors. In this connection we should also keep in mind the spirit of the age. During this age we find that all these usurpers of the previous kingdoms, in order to establish their supremacy over the mass whom they intended to rule, and over other contemporary ruling dynasties—the Cāhamānas and the Paramāras—invented their origins from supernatural or mythological personages and their court poets coloured the theory in their poetic fancies.

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[1] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 156.
[2] *EI.*, VI, pp. 347–61.
[3] *IA.*, XXI, pp. 167–68.
[4] *IA.*, XI, pp. 43–45.
[5] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, Canto I, pp. 4–7.

At any rate, from the stories of their origin, we may discover certain common features lying in them. For instance, as we see the theory of birth of the original ancestors of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi from the palm of Bramhā, similar anecdotes we find about the Caulukyas of Gujarāta. As we notice the descent of later Cālukyas from the Lunar race, similarly we get information from Hemacandra's *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* about the Caulukyas of Gujarāta also. As we find their migration from the north, similarly we find from the narration of the Jain writers that the Caulukyas of Gujarat came from the north. One point must be noticed here in this connection that all these common traits are found in the contemporary inscriptions and literature from 11th century downwards.

From the foregoing discussion we may very well conjecture something about their common origin. We, however, cannot say more on this point in the present state of our knowledge. Let us now decide the question of the original home of the Caulukyas of Gujarāta.

The Original Seat of the Family: From the two Jain authorities, *i.e.*, the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri quoted above, it appears that the ancestors of Mūlarāja came from the north. The former states that the three brothers Rāji, Bīja, and Daṇḍaka, sons of Muñjāladeva of the family of the king Bhūyarāja, a ruler of Kalyāna-kataka in the country of Kānyakubja, went on a pilgrimage to Somanāth."[1] The latter states that in the city of Madhupadma certain Culukya, the noble kṣatriya, established a kingdom. From him sprang the Caulukya family. Madhupadma is certainly identical with modern Mathura. One of his descendants, by name Dāḍaka, won a victory over the king of Pipāsā, whose identification is still a matter of investigation.[2] These references tempt one to guess that their original seat may have been in the north.

Identification of Kalyāna-kaṭaka. The statement of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* has drawn the attention of scholars. There is difference of opinion regarding that statement. The main point of dispute among scholars is Kalyāna-kataka and its identification. Forbes and Elphinstone hold the view that this Kalyāna-kaṭaka is identical with Kalyāṇa, the capital of Western Cālukyas, which was founded in the later half of the eleventh century and which here is anachronistically mentioned. There is no important place of the name of Kalyāna in Kanauj. They, therefore, regard the Caulukyas as of southern origin[3] Dr. Buhler, Dr. D. R. Bandarkar

[1] See *supra*, p. 213.

[2] See *supra* p 214.

[3] *Rāsamālā*, I, p. 56.

and Paṇḍit Bhagavan Lal Indraji assume that Caulukyas came from the north and Kalyāṇa-kataka must be in the north. Buhler relates that "if Kalyāna-kaṭaka is identical with Kalyāṇa of Deccan, there must be another Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka by that name in northern India also." He says that "this name is by no means uncommon. Two towns of this name are well known and of great antiquity, *viz.*, Kalyāṇa near Bombay, the *Kalliene* of the Greeks and Kalyāna in the Deccan "[1] Dr. Bhandarkar, going a step further, states:

> "And the traditions are unanimous in saying that his father Rāji came from Kalyāna-kataka in Kānyakubja. It is very likely that Kānyakubja denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name *Mahodaya* And *Mahodaya* and *Kalyāna* are identical in meaning. In the copper plates of the Pratīhāras *Mahodaya* is called a *Skandhāvāra*. *Skandhāvāra* and *Kataka* again are synonymous terms. Hence *Kalyāna-kataka* is equivalent to *Mahodaya-Skandhāvāra* so far as the meaning goes. And as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by *Kalyāna-kataka* in the Kānyakubja country Kanauj is meant."[2]

Having followed Dr. Bhandarkar, K. M. Munshi identifies Bhūyarāja of the prabandhas with Bhoja Pratīhāra of Kānyakubja.[3]

We, however, have nothing to say about these assumptions made by the scholars. But the identification of Kalyāṇa-kataka and Bhūyarāja requires some fresh investigations Let us now try to see whether our prabandhas throw any additional light on this topic. The *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* states.

> "Once Jayacandra, feeling jealousy about the pompous titles of Paramardi, invaded him with big garrison. He reached his capital by name *Kalyāna-kataka*, devastating the country "[4]

The Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra's rivalry with Paramardi shows that Paramardi is certainly identical with the Candella king of that name. His capital was called Kalyāna-kataka.

In another place, the same authority states·

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[1] *IA.*, VI, pp. 182–83.
[2] *JBBRAS.*, XXI, pp. 427–28
[3] *The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa*, Pt. III, p. 74.
[4] See *supra* p. 69.

"there was a king by name Yaśovarman in the city of *Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka.* He tied a bell of justice on the door of his palace."[1]

I have elsewhere shown that this Yaśovarman is identical with the powerful Candella ruler Yaśovarman, the father of Dhanga. Hence it comes out that Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka was the name of the Candella capital.

The *Prabhāvaka-carita* in relation to the Caulukya Kumārapāla states:

> "Once the king of *Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka,* having known that Kumārapāla is leaned towards Jainism and thus is weak, he invaded him with large military."[2]

I have elsewhere equated this king of Kalyāna-kaṭaka with the Candella king Madanavarman who encountered the army of Kumārapāla in the Daśarṇa country most probably in this old age. Thus we have obtained another testimony for Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka as the capital of the Candellas.

About its location we are informed from a book of tales by name *Hitopadeśa* that there was a hunter in the '*Viṣaya*' of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka named Bhairava. Once he in search of a dear entered the Mt. Vindhya.[3] This story tells us that Kalyāna-kaṭaka was in or near the Vindhyas. From the above references it appears that Kalyaṇa-kaṭaka in the Mt. Vindhyas was once regarded as the capital of the Candellas. In proposing the identification of this Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka we may say that it might have been the same as the Kālañjara. Following the argument of Dr. Bhandarkar that the Hindu writers were in the habit of using terms different but equivalent in meaning, we may assume that Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka most probably is Kālañjara (kaṭaka). Kalyāṇa means Śiva (the great God Śiva). And Śiva and Kālañjara are identical in meaning. Hence Kaṭaka of Kalyāṇa is equivalent to Kālañjara-kaṭaka, which once formed a province of the Kānyakubja kingdom.[4]

Bhūyarāja, a king mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, is also stated to be the king of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in the country of Kānyakubja. The story recorded in the prabandhas may be summarised here as follows:

> "In the country of Kānyakubja, in the capital city of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka there was a king by name Bhūyarāja. Once he fell in love with the wife of his servant, without knowing her as maid-servant. When he came to know, he cut through his hands in atonement and went to

[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 107; see *supra*, p. 63.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 206; see also *supra*, p. 68 fn. III.

[3] *HSS.*, XXXVIII, p. 31: अस्ति कल्याण-कटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैकदा मृगमन्विष्यमाणो विन्ध्याटवीम्....

[4] Brah, copper-plate of Bhoja *EI.*, XIX, pp. 15–19.

the temple of Mahākāladeva in Mālava province and devoted himslef to the god. Then the king made over to the god the land and appointed the Paramāra princes to guard it."[1]

This story certainly contains certain facts of historical importance. Firstly, it denotes the position of Kalyāna-kaṭaka at the time when Bhūyarāja was ruling, as Kalyāṇa-kataka forming a part of the country of Kanauj. Secondly, Mālava country was under the ruler of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka. Thirdly and lastly, Bhūyarāja gave Mālava to Paramāras, which may be interpreted as containing a veiled information of the rising of the Paramāras into power and the capture of Mālava by the Paramāras from Bhūyarāja.

In order to derive some more significances from the above conclusions we should go to the history of that period. We know that in the first half of the tenth century of the Christian era, the rivalry between Northern Gurjara Pratīhāras and Southern Rāṣṭrakūtas reached its climax and it ultimately resulted in the disruption of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kānyakubja. The last two blows successively dealt by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one in 915 A.D. and the other in 940 A.D., ruined the empire of the Pratīhāras. The Paramāras were the vassals of the Rāṣtrakūtas between 910 A.D. and 940 A.D. and they occupied the modern Gujarāta to the south of Sarasvatī, west Mālava, and Surāṣṭra, which means they captured it virtually from the imperial Pratīhāras. Nevertheless, as subordinates to the Rāṣtrakūtas they were holding there the post of the viceroy. But in the middle of the tenth century they became independent by throwing off the yoke of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[2]

If the episode of Bhūyarāja of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka is to be believed, it has certainly a connection with the rising power of the Paramāras of this period. In the light of this fact, we may assume that Bhūyarāja may have been the Governor of the Pratīhāras or the Rāṣṭrakūtas, and was formerly transacting his business from Kalyāṇa-kataka and then from Ujjaini where his power was captured by the early members of the Paramāra family.

Let us first suppose that he might have been a feudatory of the imperial Pratīhāras and in that case he might have ruled from Kalyāṇa-kataka in

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 11–12: शीलव्रते भूयराजप्रबन्धः। षड्त्रिंशद्ग्रामलक्षप्रमिते कन्यकुब्जदेशे कल्याणकटकनाम्नि राजधानीनगरे भूयराज इति राजा राज्यं कुर्वन्....। अथ प्रत्यूषे तान् यामिकान् सचिवैः निगृह्यमाणान् निवार्य मालवमण्डले महाकालदेवप्रसादे गत्वा स्वयं देवमाराधयंस्तस्थौ। देवादेशाद्भुजद्वये लग्ने सति तं मालवदेशं सान्तःपुरं तस्मै देवाय दत्त्वा तद्रक्षाधिकृतान् परमारराजपुत्रान् नियोज्य स्वयमेव तापसीदीक्षामङ्गीचक्रे।

[2] The Harsola grant and the Modesa grant refered to in the Chapter of the Paramāras of Mālava.

the interest of his sovereign kings of Kānyakubja. At his time Mālava formed a part of the Gurjara Pratīhāra empire. The story informs us that Bhūyarāja had gone to Mālava and he gave it to the Princes of the Paramāra family who were appointed there as the guards. This statement indicates that he was in charge of the Mālava country under the Gurjara Pratīhāras and certainly under force or threat he relinquished his authority in favour of the Paramāras or he might have been killed in that affair. As to when this event took place we have to depend on other evidences. According to the *Vicāraśreṇi*, the accession date of Mūlarāja is known as V.E. 1017 (*c.* 961 A.D.).[1] If we go back some 20 years, or thereabout, we may find an approximate date, that is, 941 A.D., when his father Rāji was ousted from Mālava and must have entered into Gujarāta. Again we give 25 years to each of the two predecessors of Rāji, *i.e.*, to his fathar Muñjala and grandfather Bhūyarāja respectively, then subtracting 50 years we get *c.* 891 A.D. or thereabout, the early limit of the time of Bhūyarāja, which tallies mostly with the period when the Paramāra power started its growth. Vairisiṁha II is the first man about whom it is said that he conquered the city of Dhārā. "By that king Dhārā was indicated, when he slew crowd of his enemies with the edge of sword."[2] This pun on Dhārā may indicate that Dhārā was conquered by him. The period of Vairisiṁha is assigned to *c.* 910-940 A.D. or some time early to that, which mostly coincides with the period of Bhūyarāja, *c.* 891–916 A.D. conjectured above.

Scholars are of one opinion on the point that the Paramara captured the seat of Mālavā from the Gurjara Pratīharas during their declining days.[3] This fact, however, confirms our above conclusion.

As to which race or clan this Bhūyarāja, who has been supposed to be a feudatory of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, belonged, we have no information from the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. But, supposing that his descendants call themselves as the Caulukyas, he might have been a Caulukya. In this connection we may further assume that he may have been a scion of a small branch of Caulukyas which in the early stages of these Caulukyas was lurking somewhere in Ayodhyā or Mathura, the place from which the migration of other Cālukyas has been supposed.

Thus from the above discussion it appears that the ancestors of the Caulukyas of Gujarāta might have hailed from the north and the original seat of the family might have been in Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka (modern Kalañjara) in Mt. Vindhya.

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[1] *JSS.*, II, No. 4, p. 9.
[2] *EI.*, I, pp. 223–38, V. 11.
[3] *DHNI.*, II, p. 846.

As regards the other alternative that "they were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas," it may be said that this possibility also cannot be ruled out, for, we know there were so many Cālukya feudatory chiefs of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They came from Deccan to fight against Kanauj on behalf of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. We have shown elsewhere on the evidence of the Jain authority, the poet Pampa, that Cālukya Narasiṁha fought for Indra III as one of his generals and defeated Mahīpāla I (914-943 A.D.) of Kanauj in 915 A.D.[1] We also know that Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.) made the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa attack on the Pratīhāra empire of Kanauj. The forts of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa were occupied by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army and the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor lost all hope of capturing them. An inscription found at Jura near Maihar in Madhya-pradeśa testifies to the above statement.[2] The Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued to hold these forts for about ten years but they were reconquered by the Candella king Yaśovarman sometime before 953 A.D.[3]

The Cālukyas, in these two last struggles and in so many previous struggles of Northern India, must have been left behind by their lords, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors, to govern the newly won territory of Kālañjara (identical with Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka).

In the case of this alternative we may suppose that in the previous wars certain Cālukyas, settled in Kalyāṇa-kataka, must have been driven away by the imperial Pratīhāras and they on their turn might have migrated to Mālavā and from Mālavā to Gujarāta where they ultimately got settled.

Thus our assumption in both ways proves the association of Mūlarāja and his ancestors, undoubtedly, with the north and with Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka.

In the end, we may say that all these hypotheses based on certain arguments lead us to draw the above conclusions. But where the truth lies, we do not know in the present state of our knowledge.

From Bhūyarāja to Rāji: Bhūyarāja seems to be the historical personage of the dynasty. He was certainly the great grandfather of Mūlarāja as we have shown from the chronology. From the word "*Pūrvokta Bhūyarājavaṁśa*"[4] it should not be taken that Bhūyarāja was a remote member of the dynasty, for Merutuṅga informs us that he was the contemporary of the Paramāras and most probably of Vairisiṁha II. According to the downward order of the other names after Bhūyarāja

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 42-43, Chapter on the Gurjara Pratīhāras.

[2] Altekar, Dr. A .S., *The Rāstrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 113.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *SJGM*., I p. 15: मूलराजप्रबन्धः।

were Śri Daḍḍaka known from the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri and Somāditya from the *Kumārapāla-prabandha.*[1] It is said in the *Kumārapāla-carita* that he defeated a king of Pipāsā country.[2] The country of Pipāsā has not been identified yet. It seems, however, that it must be lying somewhere between Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka (modern Kālañjar) and Mālava, for it was the region over which Bhūyarāja ruled.

He was succeeded by his son Muñjāla who also has been called as Kāncikavyāla[3] in the *Kumārapāla-carita* and Bhaumāditya in the *Kumārapāla-prabandha.*[4] The Varuṇāśarmaka Jain grant also refers to him as Śrī Vyālakanti. The term *Kāncikavyāla* or *Vyālakanti* may be interpreted as meaning the Vyala of Kānci or Kānti—that is the mad elephant, tiger or the king of Kānci. It is, therefore, likely that Kāncivyāḷa might have been an honorific title of Muñjāla extrolling some of his exploits in southern India.

Muñjāla had three sons by name Rāji, Bīja and Daṇḍaka. They were the brothers from the same mother. I have quoted previously the story of Rāji and his brothers, which shows how they went on a pilgrimage to Somanāth; how they returned to Aṇahillapura disguised as a mendicant; how Rāji showed his skill in the Horse Race and how he managed to marry the sister of the then ruling king Sāmanthasiṁha of the Cāvaḍa clan.[5] About the historicity of Rājī we are on firm ground because we find his name mentioned in the epigraphs of Mūlarājo, He is styled there as Mahārajādhiraja.[6] From the Kaḍi grant of Mūlaraja dated V. E. 1043 (*c.* 987 A.D.) it appears that his father was simply feudatory. It also appears from it that he might have been ruling somewhere in the north Gujarāṭa after migrating from Mālava as a petty vassal.

Bhūyarāja, his son and grandson all were the staunch followers of Śaivism. Bhūyarāja was in Kālanjara, one of the seats of Lord Śiva. He went for atonement to another seat of Lord Śiva, that is, Ujjayini.[7] His grandson Rāji and his brother went on a pilgrimage to Somanath.[8] All

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[1] *BV.*, (1939), I, 85.

[2] Canto I, V. 26 : अर्दाप्यन श्रिया श्रीदः दड्डकस्तदात्मजः ।
यः पिपासाख्यराष्ट्रेशं गर्जसिंह व्याजयत् ॥

[3] Canto I, V. 27 : भूपालः कांचिकव्यालस्तद्राज्यमथ भेजिवान् ।

[4] BV., 1937, I, 85.

[5] See *supra* p. 214.

[6] *EI.*, VI, pp. 180 ff., line 6.

[7] *PC.*, p. 11. See also *supra* p. 220.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

these references compel us to believe that they were Śaivites. This also explains why to the end of the family Śiva was their family deity.

Mūlarāja (*c*. 961-996 A.D.): Mūlarāja succeeded his father Rāji. With his reign we reach a firm ground—for we get several inscriptions and copious literary material about his reign. He was the first king of the dynasty who aspired to transform his small principality into an empire. The words of the Vaḍanagar Praśasti uttered about him are quite eloquent:

> "Illustrious Mūlarāja, who stepped on the diadems of princes, was a priceless pearl to enhance the splendour of the fame of his family. He made the fortune of the kingdom of the Cāpotkaṭa princes, whom he took captive at his will, an object of enjoyment for the multitude, of the learned, of his relatives, of the Brahmaṇas, bards and servants."[1]

We may say that the real founder of this dynasty at Gujarāta was Mūlarāja. He won the kingdom by his valour and strength. A Jain inscription known as Varunāśarmaka grant of Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍa dated V.E. 1033 (A.D. 977) compares Mūlarāja with Indra and calls him the son of the descendant of Śrīvyālakāñci, who belonged to the royal family of Caulukika. He was married to Mādhavī, the daughter of king Bhoja of the Cāhamāna family.[2] According to Hemacandra his family was of the Lunar line and the *gotra* was Bhāradvāja.[3] The statement that Mūlāraja killed his maternal uncle and took possession of Aṇahilapātana, which we came across in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*,[4] finds no support either from the Jain sources or from sources other than the Jain ones. The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* and the *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī*, authorities earlier than the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, mention him as the sister's son of the last Cāvaḍā prince,[5] but they do not record the murder of that king by Mūlarāja. The earliest among the above quoted authorities, the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, is almost silent about the relations of Mūlarāja with the Cāvaḍās.

The name of Mūlarajā's mother is recorded by the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* as Līlādevi but the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* calls Mūlarāja as 'Caṇḍikāmāta', which has been explained by the commentator that his mother was Caṇḍāladevī.[6] Hence his mother's name seems to be

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[1] *EI.*, I, pp. 296-305, Vs. 4-5.

[2] BV., 1739, I, 80.

[3] *DV.*, VI, 7: सगूर्जरं हेतुरनेक भारद्वाजं वरो गीतगुणाब्जिगज्ञम् ।

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 16: विकलेन मातुलेन स्थापितो राज्ये तं निहत्य सत्य एव भूपतिर्बभूव ।

[5] *SS.*, Canto II, V. 1; *SKK.*, p. 71 (*GOS*, X): स्वस्त्रीयः श्रयतिस्म तस्य पदवीं श्रीमूलराजो नृपः (V. 23.)

[6] *DV.*, I, V. 188: चण्डिकामात नन्देति प्रस्तोतारो ब्रुवन्निमम् ।

uncertain. According to the Kādi grant of his reign, his paternal and maternal sides were pure white like the wings of the royal swan,[1] which shows that his mother did not come from drunken and degenerated ancestors as the later Cāvaḍās were supposed to be.

His Reign: The three copper plate grants of Mūlarāja assign him a reign of 21 years, the first grant from Baroda being dated V.E. 1030 (*c.* 974 A.D) and the third Belara grant V.E. 1051 (*c.* 995 A.D.)[2] The *Vicāraśreni* assigns 35 years for his reign, extending from V.E. 1017 as his accession date to V.E. 1052 as his successor's date.[3] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, on the other hand, gives V. E. 998 as the date of Mūlarāja's accession and V.E. 1053 for that of his son Cāmuṇḍa and thus assigns him 55 years.[4] Here the two Jain authorities are not unanimous. Though according to some scholars the Sāmbhara inscription[5] of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja confirms the view recorded by the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* as it states that after the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Mūladeva came to the crest of the earth in this dynasty, in my opinion they have misunderstood the statement of the inscription. The inscription actually states that in V.E. 998 Mūlarāja came on the earth which may mean that he was born in that year, which certainly was not the year of his accession. Thus the Sāmbhara inscription gives us the year of his birth. In the light of the inscription, we may say that the year given by the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* is the year of his birth and *not* that of his accession. The year 998 V.E. given there as the year of accession seems to be wrong. The statement of the *Vicāraśreṇi* seems to be reasonable for Mūlarāja, if born in V.E. 998, could easily get accession after 19 years in V.E. 1017, at the age of his majority.

The Prabandhas have preserved several legends about the victorious achievements of the founder of the Caulukya dynasty. To Hemacandra he was *Viṣṇu, Śiva* and *Brahma*.[6] We, however, have four inscriptions of his reign to corroborate or confute the statements referred to by the Jain historians. The dates of these inscriptions range from 974 A.D. (V.E. 1030) to 995 A.D. (V.E. 1051), while his reign begins actually from 961 A.D. Thus we have no records of the early period covering about 14 years of his reign. The first grant known as Baroda grant of the date 974 A.D. informs us that

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[1] *IA.*, VI, pp. 191-93: राजहंस इव विमलोभयपक्षः ।
[2] *DHNI*, II, p. 942-43.
[3] *JSS.*, II, Pt. IV, p. 9.
[4] *SJGM.*, I., pp. 10-20.
[5] *IA.*, 1929, pp. 234-36, V. 6.
[6] *DV.*, Canto I, V. 138.

he carved out a principality in Sārasvata maṇḍala by his own prowess.[1] This would mean that for about thirty years Mūlarāja sat quiet in Sārasvata maṇḍala.

His Achievements: After consolidating his position, Mūlarāja began his conquests. Naturally, first he came in conflict with the neighbouring kings. According to the Jain sources he came in conflict with the daily growing power of the Paramāras in the South. Mūlarāja was the junior contemporary of Sīyaka II and senior to his successor and son Muñja (974-996 A.D.). I have already elsewhere (on the basis of the Bījāpur stone inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathuṇḍi) stated that Muñja attacked Mūlarāja. Mūlarāja together with the ruler of Mewar had to flee before him, 'like timid deer.' Dhavala (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of Hathuṇḍi, (*c.* 980 A.D.) gave shelter to the armies of both the kings.[2] According to the Jain inscription referred to above it seems that Mūlarāja did not gain much in this struggle.

Two other wars, one with the king of Surāṣṭra and the other with his ally Lakṣa of Kaccha have been recorded by the Jain chroniclers. Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, connecting these two wars in one episode, states that once Jehula, the *Mahāpradhāna* of Mūlarāja, told him all the mischiefs of Grāharipu in detail such as his harassment of pilgrims and the sacrilege of the holy places by killing and eating sacred animals and his treatment of defeated enemies as unworthy of a *kṣatriya* etc. Upon this Mūlarāja decided to punish him and accordingly he attacked Grāharipu of of Vāmanasthalī (modern Vanthali, 9 miles west of Junagadh). This battle took place on the bank of the river Jambumati, which has been rightly identified with the river Jambari in Kathiawar.[3] The same authority further says that in that combat Mūlarāja threw Grāharipu down from his elephant, tied him with ropes and made him prisoner. Then Lakṣa, the king of Kaccha and an ally of Grāharipu chased Mūlarāja but was killed then and there. At last Grāharipu, on the request of his queens was released.[4]

Hemacandra has given the description of this war in great detail. He has devoted full four cantos of his work to this war.

The struggles with Grāharipu and Lakṣa referred to find above no epigraphic support; and strangely enough the war with Grāharipu is mentioned

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[1] *WZKM.*, V, p. 300,

[2] See *supra* p. 181.

[3] Ramalāl Modi, *Sanskrit Dvyāśraya Mai Madhyakālīna Gujarātanī Sāmājika Sthiti*, pp. 66-67.

[4] Cantos 2-5.

nowhere except the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, but all the subsequent writers refer to this war as a war with Lakṣa probably because he was killed in the battle. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* also without referring to Grāharipu mentions a war with Lakṣarāja, the king of Kaccha. It relates that—

> "this prince was the son of Phoolad and Kāmalatā, the daughter of Paramāra king Kīrtirāja and owing to the boon of Yaśorāja, whom he had propitiated, he was altogether invincible. He repulsed eleven times the army of the king Mūlarāja. But in the twelfth encounter Mūlarāja besieged him at Kapilakoti, killed him in single combat and trod on the flowing beard of his foe."[1]

Though all the chroniclers like the authors of the *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana* and the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* refer to this war after the two wars with the king of Sapādalakṣa and king of Lāṭa it seems that hostility with the king of Kaccha might have begun long before the joint invasion of the above two. For Mūlarāja was already the master of the Eastern Kaccha.

Mūlarāja waged another war with the king of Sindhu. Hemacandra states that there was one king of Sindhu among the other kings who fought in league with Grāharipu against Mūlarāja[2]. According to the *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī*[3] and the *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti*[4] he was defeated by Mūlarāja. As they mention no name of the Sindhu ruler, it seems he might have been in all probability, a petty chieftain of the Eastern Sindhu delta.

Hemacandra also describes the battle between Mūlarāja and the ruler of Lāṭa, Dvārappa or Bārappa. This war has been recorded by the later Jain writers also. Hemacandra states:

> 'Once Bārappa sent an ominous elephant to Mūlarāja as a present, but by this act Mūlarāja was highly enraged. Mūlarāja and his son Cāmuṇḍarāja with large garrison crossed the river Sabharamati (mod. Sābaramati) and entering Lāṭa they defeated and killed Bārappa.'[5]

The *Kīrti-kaumudi* refers to this war with Bārappa. It, however, calls

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 18–19: तयोर्नन्दनः लाखाकः स कच्छदेशाधिपतिः प्रसादितयशोराज वरप्रसादात्सर्वतोऽप्यजेयः एकादशकृत्वस्त्रासितश्रीमूलराजसैन्यः .... कस्मिन्नवसरे कपिलकोट्टदुर्गस्थित एव लाखाकः राज्ञा स्वयं निरुद्धः....सलक्षो निजघ्ने। .... अथ भूपतिः .... श्मश्रूणि पदा स्पृशन्. ..

[2] Canto IV, V. 89: आगस्तीयो नु सिन्धुराजः संनह्यागस्त्या दिशि स्थितोऽमाम्।

[3] V. 24: स्वकीन सिन्धुपति लक्षसमुद्धतश्री....क्षुब्धैक सिन्धुकलितैकम्.... etc.

[4] V. 6: कृत्वाथः कच्छपं सिन्धुराजप्रक्षोभगोभिनः।

[5] *DV.*, Canto VI, Vs. 6, 44, 99: (6) प्रियोपन्नुद्धः स निशम्य etc.
(44) भव्यप्रियां रौचनिकोत्पटीं नु etc.
(99) सहाजसो दक्षिगतीर etc.

Bārappa the general of the king Lāta.[1] The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* also records the defect, of Bārappa but strangely enough, it calls Bārappa, the *Daṇḍa-nātha*—general or governor of the king of Kānyakubja.[2] *The Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, on the other hand, describes it somewhat differently. It calls Bārappa a general of the king of Telangadeśa and states that Mūlarāja was simultaneously attacked on one side by the king of Sapādalakṣa and on the other by Bārappa. The following is the abridged version of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*.[3]

> "On a certain occasion, the king of the country of Sapādalakṣa came to the border of the land of Gujarat to attack Mūlarāja. At the same time arrived Bāıappa, the general of the monarch that ruled over the Tilanga country." Mūlarāja consulted his ministers. They said to him, "If you throw yourself into the fort of Kanthā and tide over some days, when the Navarātra festival comes, the king of Sapādalakṣa will go to his capital of Śākambharī to worship his family goddess. In that interval we will conquer the general named Bārappa and after him the king of Sapādalakṣa also."

Though the king whiled away some time, at the time of Navarātra, without taking care of his ministers' advices he attacked the king of Sapāda-lakṣa. It is stated in the course of the narrative that Mūlarāja, mounting a splendid female camel, unexpectedly entered the camp of his enemy and said to him:

> "When I was thinking whether on this terrestrial globe, there was any king heroic enough to stand against me in battle or not, you arrived exactly in accordance with my wishes. But as flies alight in swarms at meal time, this general of the king of the land of Tilanga, who is named Tailapa, has come to conquer me, So I have come to ask you to abstain from attacking me in the rear and similar operations, while I am engaged in chastising him." Telling him this he returned soon and with the army he fell upon the camp of the general Bārappa. He killed him and captured his horses and returned back."

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[1] Canto II, V. 3: लाटेश्वरस्य सेनान्यमसामान्यपराक्रमः।
दुर्वारं वारपं हत्वा हास्तिकं यः समग्रहीत्॥

[2] Canto II, V. 5: निर्जित्य यः सम्प्रति कन्यकुब्जमहीभुजो वारपदण्डनाथम्।

[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 16: कस्मिन्नवसरे सपादलक्षीयः क्षितिपतिः श्रीमूलराजमभिषेणयितुं गुर्जरदेशसन्धौ समाजगाम। तद्यौगपद्येन नरपतेस्तिलङ्गदेशीयराज्ञो बारपनाम सेनापतिरुपाययौ। श्रीमूलराजेन सचिवैः सह विमृशंस्तैरुचे श्रीकन्थादुर्गे प्रविश्य कियन्त्यपि दिनान्यतिवाहयन्ताम् .... तस्मिन्नवसरे श्रीवारपनाम सेनानीर्जीयते। ....परमशनावसरे मक्षिकासन्निपात इव तिलङ्गदेशीयतैलिपा.... स्थातव्यम्, इति....

Identification of Bārappa: As regards the identification of Bārappa we have certain conflicting statements of the Jain scholars. Hemacandra says that he was the king of Lāta and the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* calls him as the general of the king of the land of Telanga, who is named Tailapa; and *Kīrti-kaumudī* simply mentions him as the general of the king of Lāṭa.

The historians have taken the statement of Merutuṅga as correct and assume that the king of Telingāṇa is no other than Taila II.[1] Though there is no doubt that Taila II was once the ruler of Teliṅgāna, yet Mūlarāja's political relationship with Taila II (973–997 A.D.) has been misunderstood. The idea of an ill-feeling between these two contemporary rulers has been supposed wholly on the assumption that Bārappa, who attacked Sārasvatamaṇḍala, was a general of Taila II. But we think that Merutuṅga is wrong in mentioning Tailapa as the king of Telingāna and overlord of Bārappa in the same voice, for we know from the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla that Bārappa was born in the family of Cālukya and was related by marriage to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kānyakubja. He obtained Lāṭadeśa not by conquest, but through his wise and politic rule; he won the hearts of the people and destroyed the enemies of the realm.[2] So it is highly probable that Bārappa was related to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and had nothing to do with Taila II. We have already seen that once the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were holding the fort of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa situated in the country of Kānyakubja.[3] We also know from the Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940–56 A.D.) that the pressure of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas increased much on Gujarat and Kathiawar in the middle of the tenth century.[4] In view of these facts it seems most probable that Bārappa might have been a general of Kṛṣna III, related to him by marriage, might have accompanied him during his expedition to the Kanauj empire and probably taken active part in the conquest of Citrakūṭa and Kālañjara, subsequently he might have been sent to recover Gujarat or appointed governor there. So '*Kānyakubja-mahībhujo*' of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* probably meant the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who on the other hand were also the kings of Teliṅgāṇa before 973 A D. Therefore, Merutuṅga's statement that Tailapa was the king of Telingāna and overlord of Bārappa is apparently wrong, and not that of Arisiṁha, the author of *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*. It appears that Merutuṅga might have been misled by the notion that in later years of his reign Taila conquered Teliṅgāna and very likely become famous as the king of that country. Bārappa's

[1] *DHNI.*, II, p. 938.
[2] *IA.*, XII, pp. 199–200.
[3] See *supra* p, 223.
[4] *DHNI.*, II, p. 934.

invasion over Sārasvatamaṇḍala, therefore, should not be taken as the indication of a hostile feeling between Mūlarāja and Taila as so far has been supposed.

The early Jain works mention no war with the Sapādalakṣa ruler referred to by Merutuṅga. Hemacandra, on the other hand, refers to one king of Maru as Mūlarāja's ally in his fight against Grāharipu.[1] Anyhow this king of Sapādalakṣa has been accepted on all hands as the Cāhamāna prince Vigraharāja who was contemporary of Mūlarāja and is known also from the Harṣa stone inscription dated 973 A.D.

On this incident, however, the later Jain authors are not unanimous. Merutuṅga says that due to Mūlarāja's bravery, Vigraharāja returned[2] while Nayacandra in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* states that Vigraharāja killed Mūlarāja and conquered the country.[3] It is very difficult to take these statements as trustworthy. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, "Mūlarāja took refuge in the fort by name Kanthādurga".[4] This statement, however, proves that the truth lies midway between the two statements of Jaina authors. Merutuṅga represents Mūlarāja visiting the Cāhamāna's camp and requesting him to abstain from attacking him in the rear while he was engaged with Bārappa."[5] It seems that Mūlarāja was really defeated but on his submission the Cāhamāna prince did not press his advantage.

The fact that Mūlarāja might have been attacked simultaneously by Bārappa and the ruler of Śākambhari, and that he was unable to resist them and took shelter in the Kanthā Durga, as referred to by the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, also finds support in the Kādi grant dated 987 A.D., which tells us that Mūlarāja resembled "Tryambaka (Śiva) since he took up his residence on a mountain just as the god dwells on the Mount (Kailāśa).[6] Dr. Buhler, interpreting it, states that Anahilapātaka, the residence of Mūlarāja, was situated in an entirely flat sandy country, and not even within fifty miles of any hill; the inference might be made here that the *Praśastikāra* "in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mūlarāja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanthā which he boldly compared to Śiva's residing on Kailāśa."[7]

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[1] *DV.*, Canto V. .

[2] *PC.*, p. 17: तावत्प्रणिधिभिरस्मिन्वृत्तान्ते ज्ञापिते सपादलक्षनृपतिः . . . .।

[3] Canto II, V. 9: श्रीमूलराजं समरे निहत्य यो गुर्जरं जर्जरतामनैपीत् ।

[4] Canto V, V. 51: त्यक्त तपस्विना (स्वच्छं) यशोऽशुकमितीवयः . . . . दुर्गमध्यविशत् ।

[5] *PC.*, p. 17: See also *supra* p. 229.

[6] *IA.*, VI, pp. 183–84, 191–92, lines 2–3.

[7] *Ibid.*

Mūlarāja is also credited with having defeated one Dharaṇīvarāha. A Jaina inscription known as the Bijāpura stone inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala informs us that "Mūlarāja had a powerful army and was intoxicated with pride" and when Dharaṇīvarāha was attacked by him, he sought shelter with Dhavala.[1] I have elsewhere identified Dharaṇīvarāha with the Paramāra ruler of Arbuda.[2]

From the above descriptions we, however, may easily draw a picture of the political situation of India in that period. Mūlarāja's reign falls in that time when the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas, the Calukyas and the Guhilotas were struggling to obtain mastery over Western India. Mūlarāja, while struggling with these powers, also consolidated his kingdom to some extent. Ultimately he died in 996 A.D., having ruled for fifty-five years.[3]

From the epigraphic records as well as from the Jain chronicles, it appears that Mūlarāja was a great devotee of Somanātha and he built several temples of that god in his kingdom. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*[4] and *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*[5] he used to go every Monday to Someśvara Paṭṭana. It is said that he built three famous temples: the first Muñjāladevaprāsād in honour of his grandfather the second Tripuruṣaprāsād to perpetuate the memory of three brothers Rāji, Dāḍhaka and Bīja who were the Âdipuruṣa *i.e.* the original persons of the dynasty, and the third Mūlarājavasahikā on his own name. As to some dignified personages of the reign of Mūlarāja we heard from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*[6] that Jambaka and Jehula were his chief ministers, and from the colophon of the *Nemināha-cariu* we learn that one Vīra of the Prāgvāṭa family was a minister in charge of the *Taṅkaśālā*, that is, the mint, where coins were made bearing the image of Lakṣmī.[7] The great ascetic Kanthādi and his disciple Vayajalladeva referred to in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* may also be mentioned as two opposite types of *Yogis* who represent peculiar religious attitudes which affected the religious consciousness of Gujarāta[8].

Cāmuṇḍa, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja: (996 A.D.–1022 A.D.): Mūlarāja was succeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāja. The *Dvyaśraya-kāvya* states

[1] *EI.*, X, pp. 17–24, V. 12.

[2] See *supra* p. 187, Chapter on the Paramāras of Arbuda.

[3] See *supra*, p. 226.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 17: नित्यं नित्यं सोमवारे श्रीसोमेश्वरपत्तने यात्रायां....।

[5] Canto II, p. 10: कुष्करवर्तनेन: इति सोमवारे यः सोमनाथं प्रणिगत्य वीरः।

[6] Canto II, V. 56.

[7] *Sanatkumāra-caritram*, section from Haribhadra's *Nemināha-cariu*, ed. by H. Jacobi, Introduction, VI. ff.

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 18.

that Mūlarāja, after consulting his ministers, purohitas and astrologers, gave the throne to his son Cāmuṇḍa and himself retired to Śrīsthala, that is, Siddhapura on the bank of Sarasvatī, and ended his life by sacrificing his body to fire.[1] The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*[2] and the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*[3] support this statement. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Cāmuṇḍarāja was enthroned in V.E. 1050. He reigned for about 13 years. We have also stated that he accompanied his father in the war of Lāṭa.[4]

Identification of Sindhurāja : We have also described at length the wars of Cāmuṇḍarāja with the Paramāra Sindhurāja while dealing with the history of the Paramāras.[5] Certain scholars hold the view that by Sindhurāja is meant the king of Sindha. For the sake of argument they state that Mūlarāja once fought a Sindhurāja who might have been a king of Sindha. They also cite an instance from the Arthūṇa stone inscription of the Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja (A.D. 1080) where Sindhurāja has been taken as the "prince of Sindha."[6] But this view of scholars is hardly convincing, for the Vaḍanagar praśasti, which informs us about the struggle of Cāmuṇḍa with Sindhurāja, also expressly states that Sindhurāja was a *Kṣoṇīpati*.[7] If we take the literal meaning of Sindhurāja as Rājā of Sindhu, the adjective *Kṣoṇīpati* seems to be useless. When we take the word Sindhurāja as a proper name with the adjective *Kṣoṇīpati*, then alone the use of the two words would be justified. According to Kielhorn he was possibly the king of Sindha, but more probably Sindhurāja of Mālava.[8] As Muñja seems to have died sometime between 994 and 996 A.D. there is no inherent contradiction in Sindhurāja's being a contemporary of Cāmuṇḍa.[9] The struggle with Sindhurāja Paramāras shows that the Paramāra hostility which started from the time of Mūlarāja continued in future.

The Muslim chroniclers like *Ain-i-Akabarī* assign to Cāmuṇḍa a reign of 13 years, but the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*[10] gives 12 years and some months. In

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1 Canto VI, V. 107.
2 II, V. 7.
3 *SJGM.*, p. 19.
4 See *supra* p. 228.
5 See *supra* pp. 95-96.
6 See *supra* p. 184, on the Paramāras of Bānswāḍā.
7 *EI.*, I, pp. 296-305, V. 6: त्रिभ्रश्यन्मदगन्धभग्नकरिभिः श्रीसिन्धुराजस्तथा।
नष्टः क्षोणीपतिर्यथास्य यशसां गन्धोऽपि निर्नाशितः॥
8 *EI.*, I, pp. 277, 302 and 481.
9 See *supra* pp. 92-93.
10 *AAK.*, II, p. 200 ; *MA.*, translated by Bird, p. 143.

view of this approximate agreement of the Jain and Muslim chronicles, we may assign to Cāmuṇḍa a reign of 12 or 13 years and place him between *c.* 996–1009 A.D.

According to the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* he had three sons: Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja and Nāgarāja. Referring to their education, Hemacandra mentions their training and proficiency in managing horses and elephants.[1]

Regarding the birth of these princes we have significant information from the *Prabhāvaka-carita.* It relates that Cāmuṇḍarāja was very much troubled by the fact that his queens always suffered from miscarriage. He expressed his agony to his minister named Vīra. Vīra went to consult his religious preceptor Vīrācārya, and obtained some fragrant powder which was to be sprinkled on the queens. After this treatment Vallabharāja and other sons were born. According to the same authority Cāmuṇḍarāja was already under the influence of the Jain teacher Vīrācarya[2] and he issued a grant to a Jain temple.[3]

Hemacandra refers to in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* that the eldest prince Vallabharāja with the permission of king Cāmuṇḍarāja led an expedition against Mālava but on the way he died of small-pox. His generals very tactfully retreated with the army and came back to Aṇahillapura. The king was deeply touched with this sad incident and retired to the holy place of Suktatīrtha on the bank of Narmadā after giving the crown to his second son Durlabharāja. Abhayatilakagaṇi, the learned commentator of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya,* records a different tale.[4] He says that Cāmuṇḍarāja became sexually very loose, so his sister Vācinīdevi managed to remove him from the throne and gave it to Vallabharāja. Cāmuṇḍarāja, under this disgrace, proceeded on a pilgrimage to Banaras. By the way the Rājā of Mālava plundered his umbrella and other insignia of royalty. He returned to Aṇahillapur and asked his son Vallabha to march against Mālava. The commentator further says that as such an incident would be unworthy of a dignified person like Cāmuṇḍarāja, it was suggested by saying that "he took the permission of his father."[5] We may, however, derive some factual value from this story of the commentator if we read it in connection with the above statement that his queens always miscarried.[6] It may be guessed

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[1] Canto VII, Vs. 1–31.

[2] *SJGM.*, XIII, pp. 131–32, Vs. 136–148.

[3] *HIG.*, Pt. III, No. 136 A.; *Puravani ne Lekho*, p. 154.

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 31, and its commentary.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *SJGM.*, XIII (*PCA*), p. 131, V. 140: ज्ञो स्रवति गर्भस्तत्र प्रतिविधिं कुरु।

from this that Cāmuṇḍarāja might have suffered from some foul sexual disease. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, however, attaches this anecdote of pilgrimage with Durlabharāja. It states:

> "Being himself desirous of travelling to Banaras as he longed to perform devotions in a holy place, he reached the country of Mālava. There he was called upon by the king Muñja to give the umbrella and cowries and the other insignia of royalty, and to continue his journey in the dress of pilgrim or to fight his way through. When this message was delivered to him, he perceived that an obstacle to his religious resolution had arisen in his path and after impressing the circumstances in the strongest terms on king Bhīma, he went to the holy place in the dress of a pilgrim and gained paradise. From that day forth their was rooted enmity between the kings of Gujarāta and Mālava.[1]

According to the A-MS of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Śrī Cāmuṇḍarāja built two temples presumably of Śiva, one was known as Candanāthadeva prāsāda and the other Cāciṇeśvara prāsāda. The second one might have been built to perpetuate the memory of his sister Cācinīdevi.[2]

Cāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded according to the *Prabandha-cintāmani* by his eldest son Vallabharāja in V.E. 1065. This king after investing the fortress of Dhārā in the country of Mālava, died of small-pox. He acquired the titles "subduer of kings, as Śiva subdued the god of Love (*Rāja-madana-śanker*) and shaker of world (*Jagajjampana*). He reigned only for six months.[3] The Vaḍanagar praśasti also mentions Vallabharāja as son and successor of Cāmuṇḍarāja.[4] The Muslim chroniclers like Abul-Fazl and Ali Muhammad Khān assign him a reign of six and seven months respectively.[5] This support of Muslim tradition seems to indicate that the Jain chroniclers were right in giving a short reign to Vallabha. His war with the ruler of Mālava is also confirmed by the Vaḍanagar praśasti.[6] The ruler of Mālava is probably to be identical with Bhoja (*c.* 999–1055 A.D.) the nephew of the Paramāra Muñja. The fact that he died so soon and was succeeded in the course of the same year by his brother Durlabha seems to explain the omission of his name in some of the later Caulukya inscriptions.

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 20: ततःप्रभृति मालविकराजभिःसह गुर्जरनृपतीनां मूलविरोधबन्धः संवृत्तः।

[2] *Ibid.*: अनेन श्रीपत्तने चन्दनाथदेव चाचिणेश्वर....।

[3] *Ibid.*: मास ६ श्रीवल्लभराजेन राज्यं कृतम्।

[4] *EI.*, I, p. 296–305, V. 7.

[5] *AAK.*, II, p. 260; *MA.*, Text, p. 29, Trans. p. 143.

[6] *EI.*, I, p. 296–305, V. 7.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* records that Durlabharāja was a crowned king in V.E. 1065. He ruled for twelve years.[1] The *Vicāraśreṇi*, giving the list of Mūlarāja's successors, omits Cāmuṇḍarāja and refers to Vallabharāja as his son who ruled for fourteen years (V.E. 1052–66); his brother Durlabha twelve years (V.E. 1066–78).[2] According to the *Kharatara gaccha-paṭṭāvalī*, Durlabha was alive in V.E. 1080 when a religious debate took place in his court between Jineśvarasūri and Caityavāsis, but this date seems to be fictitious for we know by all means that after V.E. 1078 Durlabha was not alive. Moreover, regarding the exact date of that debate, the Jain authorities are not themselves unanimous.[3] Durlabharāja got constructed a lake named Durlabhasara. According to the A-MS of the same work he also built a palace of seven stories, with a clock-tower and a stable for elephants at Paṭṭan and a temple of Madan Śaṁkara for the welfare of his brother Vallabharāja, and Durlabhasara after his name.[4]

According to the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, Durlabharāja and his younger brother Nāgarāja married Durlabhādevī and Lakṣmī the two sisters of Mahendrarāja of Maru country respectively. It is stated there that Durlabhādevī was won by Durlabha in a *svayaṁvara*; but to retain possession of the princess he had to fight a number of other claimants, among whom were the kings of Aṅga, Kāśī, Avantī, Cedideśa, Kurudeśa, Hūṇadeśa, Mathurā and Vindhya.[5] Abul-Fazl assigns to Durlabha a reign of eleven years and six months, while Ali Muhammad Khan gives him only eight years.[6] As Merutuṅga and Abul-Fazl nearly agree in assigning him a period of about twelve years we may refer him to the period *c.* 1010–22 A.D.

The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* depicts him as a man of high character. He was full of justice and not accessible to the wives of others."[7] The Vaḍanagar praśasti[8] and the *Kīrti-kaumudī*[9] also confirm the fact. He was the first Caulukya king who admitted the Jain *sadhus* to his court at Aṇahilavāḍa.[10]

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 20: A-MS.: सं. १०६६ दुर्लभराजनाम्ना राज्येऽभिषिक्तः। एवं १२ वर्षं राज्यं कृतम्।

[2] *JSS.*, II, No. 4, p. 9.

[3] *Jain Kathā Kośa Prakaraṇa* (*SJGM.*, XI.), introduction, p. 42 ff.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 20.

[5] *DV.*, Canto VII, Vs. 66–105.

[6] *AAK.*, II, p. 260; *MA.*, translation, p. 143.

[7] Canto II, V. 15: [illegible] दुर्लभो दुर्लभराजः।

[8] *EI.*, I, pp. 296–305.

[9] Canto II, V. 14.

[10] *GOS.*, LXXVI, p. 794: दुर्लभराजसभायां चैत्यवासि [illegible]।

Bhīma I (1022–64 A.D.): Durlabharāja was succeeded by his nephew Bhīma. The *Dvyāsraya-kāvya* says: "Nāgarāja the younger brother had a son named Bhīma, and both Nāgarāja and Durlabha thought that they were discharged from the parental debt (*Pitṛ Ṛṇa*) of producing a son.[1] This shows that Durlabha had no issue and adopted Bhīma as his heir. Durlabha brought up Bhīma very affectionately. The education of Bhīma is also described there. He became a master of gymnastics. Durlabha asked Bhīma to accept the throne which he first refused. He requested that his father Nāgarāja should be made king. Both the brothers, however, pressed him and he ascended throne; both Durlabha and Nāga dedicated themselves to religious life and died soon after.[2]

Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* gives Bhīma 42 or 43 years' reign from V.E. 1077–78 to 1120 (*c.* 1021–1064 A.D.).[3] The Muslim chroniclers also allot him a reign of 42 years.[4] We, therefore, may with certainty assign him to the period *c.* 1022–64 A.D. From the four published epigraphic records of the reign of Bhīma we also get the date from *c.* 1029 to 1062 A.D.; the first being the Rādhanpur grant dated V.E. 1086 (A.D. 1029) and the last the Ābu stone inscription dated V.E. 1119 (A.D. 1062).[5] The last one is a Jaina epigraph and is incised at the Vimala temple on Mt. Abu, in the Sirohī District, Rājasthāna. It is a short inscription of a minister of the Caulukya Bhīma I.[6]

Bhīma was an ambitious and powerful king. He followed the footsteps of Mūlarāja and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. He had to struggle, on one hand, with fierce foreign invaders like Mahmud and, on the other hand, with the native rulers like the Paramāras and the Cāhamānas.

Within two years of Bhīma's coming to the throne Mahmud invaded Somanātha. The record of this invasion is mostly preserved by the Muslim historians but two references of this raid are found in the Jain sources also. The one we get from the *Satyapurīya Śrī Mahāvīra Utsāha*, an Apabhraṁśa poem of Dhanapāla and the other from the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri. The poet Dhanapāla states that Srīmāla country, Anahilavāḍa, Candrā-

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[1] *DV.*, Canto VIII, V. 2: तस्योत्पत्त्या निष्पितृ गं व्यमुद्धात्मानं राजा नागराजोऽप्यबोधि।

[2] *Ibid.*, Canto VIII, Vs.. 9–22.

[3] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 53–54: सं० १०७७ प्रारभ्य वर्ष ४२ मास १० दि० ८ राज्यं कृतम्। (B.P. आदर्शे) सं० १०७८ पूर्व श्रीभीमेन वर्ष ४२ राज्यमकारि।

[4] *AAK.*, p. 260: *MA.*, translation, p. 143.

[5] *DHNI.*, II, pp. 948–949.

[6] *EI.*, IX, p. 148.

vatī, Soratha, Devalavāḍa and Someśvara were looted by Turks.[1] According to Muni Jina Vijayaji the poet Dhanapāla of this poem is identical with the author of the *Tilakamañjarī* of the same name. Thus, this is an almost contemporaneous account. The *Satyapura-kalpa* of the *Vividhatirtha-kalpa* refers to the looting of Gurjara country by Gajjanavī, *i.e.*, the lord of Gazani in V.E. 1081 (A.D.1025).[2] Both these references are obviously to the expedition of Mahamud Gazanī.

About this invasion the other Gujarati authors from Hemacandra downwards, except the two quoted above, are almost silent. It is also strange to know that Al-utbi, a sort of private secretary to Mahmud, does not mention the sacking of Somanāth in his work *Tarikhá-i-Yamini*. He wrote a good account of Mahmud's biography and lived for four years after this event. After two hundred years, the first Muslim historian who mentioned this event was Ibu Asir (*c.* 1230 A.D.).[1] This shows that the expedition against Somanāth might have been an insignificant event unworthy to receive the attention of the early writers. The modern historians, however, have put much reliance on the records of the later Muslim writers, but they maintained the view that Mahmud's invasion had no permanent effect on the history of Gujarat. The Muṇḍaka and Rādhanapur grants show that Bhīma was in safe possession of his capital Aṇahilavāḍa.[2] The *Dvyaśrya-kāvya* also mentions another struggle of Bhīma with the Sindha king Hammuka.[3] It is recorded that Bhīma was informed by his spies that the king of Sindha was planning to murder him. "He has also subdued the ruler of Sivāsaṇa. He has a powerful cavalry and can vanquish whom he wants. He corrupts your friends." Bhīma after consulting the ministers marched against Sindha. He crossed the mighty stream of the river Sindhu by building a bridge accross it and defeated and conquered the king of Sindha, Hammuka.[4]

Though we have no epigraphic evidence to support the struggle with the ruler of Sindha, it is likely that Bhīma, like his predecessors Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa, fought with the ruler of Sindha, and carried on the policy laid down by the founder of the dynasty.

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[1] *JSS.*, III, No. III, p. 1, Vs. 3–4: भंजेवि सिरिमालदेसु अनु अणहिलवाडउं चड्डु न जिरे ....तुरुक्क....

[2] *SJGM.*, X, p. 29: गज्जणवइं गुज्जरं भंजित्ता वरिससहस्सिक्कासीए (१०८१) विक्कमवरिसे मिच्छराणो।

[3] *JSS.*, III, pp. 252–57.

[4] *DHNI.*, II, p. 962.

[5] *DV.*, Canto VIII, Vs. 52–56.

[6] *Ibid.*

His greatest rival was king Bhoja with whom he was engaged for a long time in cold wars, political as well as cultural. We have already discussed at length on the evidence of the Jain sources how Bhīma troubled Dhanduka, the Paramāra ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of king Bhoja and how Bhoja became angry with him; how Kulacandra attacked Pātana when Bhīma was himself engaged in the war of Sindha. We have also stated the skilful devices of Dāmara, the diplomat minister of Bhīma, who watched all kinds of activities of Bhoja.[1] We have also referred to his incursion on the Kalacuri king, Karna, in whose alliance, later, Bhīma attempted to deliver a lasting blow upon the kingdom of Bhoja in which he succeeded.[2] So far as our confirmatory evidences are concerned we may cite the Vaḍanagar praśasti which distinctly states that Bhīma's horses quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the emperor of Mālava.[3] There is, however, no evidence to show that Karṇa was defeated by Bhīma.

One more struggle of Bhīma has been recorded by a Jain inscription about which the Jain chroniclers are almost silent. The Sundha hill inscription (V.E. 1309)[4] composed by a Jain teacher by name Jayamaṅgala of Bṛhadgaccha states that the Naḍḍūla prince Âhila and his paternal uncle Aṇahilla defeated the Gurjara king, Bhīma.[5] In the Jain inscription it is stated that the latter's son Bālaprasād compelled Bhīma to liberate a king named Kṛṣṇa-deva from prison.[6] Kielhorn has rightly identified this Kṛṣṇa-deva with the Paramāra king of that name who ruled in Abu *c.* 1060–67 A.D.[7] A Jain inscription in the Vimala temple on Mt. Abu shows that Abu was ruled by Vimala, the *daṇḍapati* of Bhīma (I) in V.E. 1088 (*c.* 1031 A.D.)

Leaving aside these accounts of the wars of Bhīma if we study the prabandha literature we find how culturally Gujarāta was progressing under Bhīma. The *Prabhavaka-carita* informs us that poets and dialecticians of different sects from different parts of India visits the capital of Gurjaradeśa. The intellectual rivalry between Dhārā and Anahillapur was keen and Bhīma and Bhoja were always jealous to preserve the intellectual status of their courts.

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 28–30; See *supra*, p. 101.

[2] See *supra*, p. 102; Chapter on the Paramāras.

[3] *EI.*, I, pp. 296–305, V. 9: धारापंचक....क्षिप्रं मालवचक्रवर्तिनगरी धारा ....।

[4] *EI.*, Vol. 9, p. 90 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vs. 13–14: गुर्जराधिपति भीमभूभुजः सैन्यपूरमजयद्रणेषु यः V. 13.
भीमक्षोणीपतिगजघटा....

[6] *Ibid.*, V. 18: भीमक्ष्माभृच्चरणयुगली .... कृष्णदेवाभिधानम् ।

[7] *BG.*, I, P. I, 472–74.

Bhīma like his forefathers was a Śaivite but his liberal policy in religion helped the Jain scholars to show their talent in various fields of literature. We learn from the *Prabhāvaka-carita* that Surācārya and Śāntisūri distinguished themselves in intellectual contests and they often went to other kingdoms to engage in such contests in behalf of their country. Surācārya was a cousin of the king Bhīma, being the son of his maternal uncle Sangrāmasiṁha, a prince of Marudeśa.[1] Śāntisūri was a great literary man. He composed a commentary on the *Uttarādhayana-sūtra* with whose help Vādi Devasūri defeated the Digambara dialectician Kumudacandra in the time of Jayasiṁha.[2] It appears Śāntisūri was responsible for starting a school of logic amongst the Jains. Abhayadevasūri, the author of that big commentary on the *Sanmati-tarka* of Siddhasena Divākara known as *Vādamahārṇava,* was the teacher of Śāntisūri.[3] It is stated that 32 students studied *Pramāṇa śāstra* under Śāntisūri. According to the same authority another scholar Buddhisāgara of that period wrote a work on Saṁskṛit grammar which is named after him. Jineśvara composed a work on logic.[4]

Another important figure of the age is poet Dharma who is often referred to as the Kaula Kavi Dharma. He is also reputed to have defeated several scholars in intellectual combats in other countries.[5]

We also know some important persons of Bhīma's reign. The prabandha literature refers to Someśvara as his *purohita* and Dāmara or Dāmodara as his minister of peace and war. Many of the stories in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* turn round the uncommon wit and intelligence of this Dāmara.[6] From the Vimala temple inscription we know that Vimala was the *daṇḍapati* of Bhīma.[7] This Vimala was one of the two sons of Vīra, a minister of Durlabharāja about whom we know from the colophon of the *Neminaha-cariu.*[8]

Bhīma continued the policy of his predecessor regarding the building of temples. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* he built three temples named Bhīmeśvaraprāsāda, Bhaṭṭārikā Bhīruāṇī prāsāda and Bāla Mūlarāja's

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[1] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 152–60: सूराचार्यचरितम् ।

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 178–79.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 133–37: वादिवेतालशान्तिसूरिचरितम् ।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 162 ff.: अभयदेवचरितम् ।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 147, V. 256.

[6] *SJGM.*, I: भोजभीमप्रबन्धः ।

[7] *Arbud Prabandha Jain Lekha Saṅgraha*, II, p. 3: ततश्च भीमेन नराधिपेन स विमलो महामतिः । कृतोऽर्बुदे दण्डपतिः ।

[8] *Sanatkumāra-caritaṁ*: A section from Haribhadra's *Nemināha-cariu* ed. by H. Jacobi, Introduction, vi ff.

prāsāda.[1]

Bhīma had three sons from his three queens. One of the sons named Mūlarāja died at an early age in whose memory Bhīma built a Śaiva temple. The other two sons were Kṣemarāja and Karṇa born from Caulukādevī and Udayamatī respectively.[2] According to the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* the throne was first offered to Kṣemarāja who appears to have been the elder of the two but he refused to accept it on the ground that he wanted to dedicate himself to religious pursuits and induced his father to crown Karṇa.[3] After Bhīma's death Kṣemarāja retired to Maṇḍūkeśvara near Dadhisthalī on the bank of Sarasvatī to perform penances. This village of Dadhisthala was granted to Kumāra Devaprasāda so that he might attend upon his father Kṣemarāja in his penances there."[4]

According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Bhīma married Udayamatī, the daughter of Naravāhana Kheṅgāra of Surāṣṭra by whom Karṇa was born.[5] The same authority states that Bhīma attracted by her chastity married a hetæra by name Caulādevī, Baulādevī or Bakulādevī by whom he had a son Kṣemarāja or Haripāla.[6] His third son was Mūlarāja. He was very compassionate for the people and got them relieved from payment of taxes. He died in his youth. Bhīma erected a temple Tripurasaprāsāda for the welfare of prince Mūlarāja.[7]

Karṇa (1064–94 A.D.): Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* refers to the fact that the coronation of Karṇa took place in V.E. 1120 (*c.* 1064 A.D.) in the month of *Caitra* and that he ruled till the year 1150 V.E. (*c.* 1094 A.D.) covering a period of 29 years 8 months and 21 days.[8] The *Vicāraśreṇi* assigns him 30 years from V.E. 1120 to 1150.[9] The Muslim writers like Abu'l-Fazl and Ali Mohammad Khan assign him a reign of 31 years.[10] Thus all the chroniclers with little difference are approximately in agreement. We may safely place Karṇa in the period *c.* 1164–74 A.D. From the two copper

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 53.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 53 and 77.

[3] Canto IX, Vs. 70–77.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vs. 76–77.

[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 54: श्री उदयमतिनाम्न्या तद्राज्ञ्या नरवाहनखंगारसुतया . . . . ।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[7] *SJGM.*, I, p. 53.

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 54: अथ सं० ११२० चैत्रवदि ७ सोमे हस्तनक्षत्रे मीनलग्ने श्रीकर्णदेवस्य राज्याभिषेकः संजातः । p. 55: सं० ११५० वर्षे पौषवदि ३ शनौ . . . . श्रीसिद्धराजस्य पट्टाभिषेकः ।

[9] *JSS.*, II, p. 9: सं० ११२० वर्षोप . . . . सुतश्रीकर्णदेवराज्यं व. ३० ।

[10] MA., translation, p. 143; *AAK.*, II, p. 260.

plate grants of his reign we have two dates V.E. 1131 (A.D. 1075) and V.E. 1148 (A.D. 1092).[1]

The Jain sources other than the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* record the valorous deeds of the king. The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* states that Karṇa led an expedition against Mālava and inflicted a defeat on the king. He brought with him an image of Nīlakaṇṭha (God Śiva) from Dhārā.[2] Who was this king of Mālava? We know from other sources that after Bhoja his son Jayasiṁha ruled over Mālava from 1155 A.D. to 1160 A.D. and he was succeeded by his uncle Udayāditya. It seems, therefore, that Udayāditya might have been a contemporary of Karṇa, whom, according to the above authority, he defeated. But the statement of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* does not seem to be entirely free from fault, for the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* credits Bhīma, the father of Karna, with bringing the image of Śiva from Mālava.[3] And according to the *Pṛthvīraja-vijaya* Udayāditya with the help of the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja (III) defeated the Caulukya Karṇa.[4] This statement of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* contradicts the statement of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana.* The Jain inscription known as the Sundhā hill inscription records the fact that Pṛthvīpāla defeated the army of Karṇa.[5] It seems that Pṛthvīpāla also helped Udayāditya in the battle. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri states that the Cāhamāna king Durlabharāja killed Karṇa in the battle[6] and the *Prabandha-kośa* mentions that Dūsala, having tied the king of Gujarāta, brought him to Ajmer and made him to sell whey (Takraṁ).[7] We, however, have no support for these latter versions of the event. On the other hand the early authority, *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya,* says that this war was waged between Karṇa and Udayāditya in which Vigraharāja III assisted Udayāditya.

Karṇa soon recovered from the blow inflicted upon him by Udayāditya and his allies. He attacked the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna and defeated Śrī Yojaka, the brother of Pṛthvīpāla, who had helped Udayāditya and reduced

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[1] *HIG.*, II, pp. 18–27.

[2] Canto II, V. 23: जित्वा वर्लैर्मालवभूमिपालमानीतवान् यः किल नीलकण्ठम् ।
तन्मूर्ध्नि सिन्धुग्रथिताब्दसंख्यं प्रैपीयशः स्वं भुवनत्रयेऽपि ॥

[3] See *supra* pp. 102–3.

[4] Canto V, Vs. 76–78: मालवेनोदयादित्येनास्माद्वैराप्यतोन्नतिः ।
जिगाय गूर्जरं कर्णं तमश्वं प्राप्य मालवः ॥

[5] *EI.*, XI, pp. 76–77: पृथ्वीपाल इति श्रुतं क्षितपतिस्तस्यांगजन्माभवत् ।
प्रत्यक्षोद्धविधिः सगुर्जरपतेः कर्णस्य सैन्यापहः ॥

[6] Canto II, V. 31: श्रीकर्णदेवं समरे निपात्य तद्राज्यलक्ष्मीं परि तवान् यः ।

[7] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 133: तेन गुर्जरत्राधिपतिर्बद्धानीतः अजयमेरुमध्ये तक्रविक्रयं कारापितः ।

him to vassalage. The Sundhā hill inscription informs us that Yojaka took joy in Anahilapura with his white umbrella.[1]

The Jains are quite silent about his another expedition on Lāṭa as known from the other sources.[2]

The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* also refers to Karṇa's victory in Sindha for which we have no support.[3]

Another expedition of Karna is referred to in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. It states that Karṇa attacked a Bhilla named Āśā dwelling at Āśāpalli (identified with modern Āsāval near Ahmedabad), who was king of over six lacs. On the omen of Bhairavādevī he built there a temple to the goddess called Kocarabā and after conquering the Bhilla, he installed there in a temple the goddess Jayantī, and also he built the temple of Karneśvara, adorned with the lake of Karṇasāgara. He founded the city of Karṇāvati and reigned from there. In Paṭṭana he got built the temple of Karṇameru.[4]

According to the *Prabandha-cintāmani* Karna went to invade Āśāpalli after coronating Jayasiṁha and he found there a city named Karnāvatī and reigned there himself.[5] According to the *Kumārapāla-prabandha*[6] and the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Caritrasundargaṇi,[7] he went to reside at Āśāpalli because it was not proper that two kings lived in one place. According to the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* Karṇa, having enthroned Jayasiṁha, meditating on the god Viṣṇu, went to heaven.[8]

In the face of these conflicting statements of the Jain authors this much may safely be inferred that Karna, during his lifetime, annexed the province of Kheṭaka *maṇḍala* containing a dense forest and Bhilla settlements and thus linked up the North and South Gujjrata into one. The foundation of Karṇāvatī was laid only a few years before his death.

Most of the accounts about Karṇa describe the uncommon beauty of his person charming to women and his love romances. The *Karṇasundarī-nāṭikā* of poet Bilhana was composed on the love episodes of Karṇa. The

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[1] *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 24: श्रीयोजको भूपतिरस्यबन्धुर्विवेकसौधप्रवलप्रतापः ।
श्वेतातपत्रेण विराजमानः शक्त्याणहिल्लाख्यपुरेऽपि रेमे ॥

[2] *EI.*, I, p. 316 ff.

[3] Canto II, V. 23 · तन्मूर्ध्नि गिन्धुप्रथिताध्वसंख्यं प्रैपीयशः स्वं भुवनत्रयेऽपि ।

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 55: स्वयं तु आशापल्ली नव सनमाशाभिधानं भिल्लमभिषेणयन्. . . .
कर्णा.लीपुरं निवेश्य स्वयं तत्र राज्य चकार etc.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] P. 5.

[7] Canto I, V 29.

[8] Canto XI, V. 3: ब्रह्मवादि हरिस्मारी भूत्वा स्थण्डिलवर्त्यसौ etc.

Dvyāśraya-kāvya and the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* describe at length the marriage of Mayaṇallā with Karṇa.[1] The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* refers to Mayaṇallā as the daughter of the king Jayakeśi of Candrapur, born in Kadamba family.[2] According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Jayakeśi was the son of Śubhakeśi, the king of Karṇāṭa. This Śubhakeśi has been identified with Ṣaṣṭhadeva, the third king of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa. But Jayakeśi was not the king of Karṇāṭaka. He was most probably a friend of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, the ruler of Karṇāṭaka. Jayakeśi, on the other hand, is regarded the king of Koṅkaṇa, the capital of which was modern Goa. An inscription of his reign dated 1051 A.D. was discovered in Goa. He died in 1075 A.D. Thus, he was a contemporary of the Caulukya Karṇa.[3]

As to how they were married, there is an interesting story in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*.[4] It states:

> "Once she merely on hearing the name of Someśvara mentioned by some votaries of Śiva remembered her former birth. She said to herself: 'In a former life I was a Brāhmaṇi, I set out to worship Someśvara and reached the town of Bahuloḍa but being unable to pay the duty levied there, I was not allowed to proceed further and in despair I expressed the earnest desire that in my next birth I might bring about the remission of that duty. I died and was born in this family.' This was her recollection with regard to her former birth. In order to fulfil her desire she determined to marry the king of Gujarāta. Her father accordingly asked Karṇa through his ministers to accept the gift of his daughter Mayaṇallādevī's hand. But Karṇa, having heard of her ugliness, was indifferent to her. But her father, on account of her obstinate determination sent her to Karṇa, as a maiden choosing her own husband. Then Karṇa having himself secretly observed the fact of her ugliness, became altogether neglectful of her. Accordingly Mayaṇallādevī and her eight companions made up their minds to sacrifice their

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[1] *DV.*, Canto IX, V. 89–170 and *SJGM.*, I, p. 54.

[2] *DV.*, Canto IX, V. 99–100 and 153.

[2] *Kadambakula*, p. 166.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 54: सा च शिवभक्तैः सोमेश्वरनामनि गृहीतमात्र एव निजपूर्वभवमस्मार्षीत्, यदहं प्राग्भवे ब्राह्मणी द्वादशमासोपवासान् कृत्वा तदन्ते द्वादशवस्तूनि वितरणाय कृत्वा श्रीसोमेश्वरमस्नपयितुं प्रस्थिता बहुलोडनगरमागता तत्करं दातुमक्षमयाऽग्रतो गन्तुमलभमाना तद्विषादादहं—आगामिनि जन्मनि अस्य करस्य मोचयित्री भूयासमिति कृतनिदाना विपद्याऽत्र कुलेऽवतीर्णाऽस्मीति पूर्वभवस्मृतिः। अथ बहुलोडमोचनाय स गुर्जरेश्वरं स्वयं वरं कामयमाना तं वृत्तान्तं पित्रे निवेदयामास। अथ जयकेशिराजानं व्यतिकरं ज्ञात्वा तेन श्रीकर्णः .... याच्यते स्म। अथ श्रीकर्णो .... उदासीने सति .... तामेव मयणल्लदेवीं .... पिता स्वयंवरां प्राहिणोत्। .... मातृवचसा तां परिणीय श्रीकर्णः पश्चाद्दृष्टिमात्रेणापि न संभावयामास।

lives in order to compass the death of the king; but Karṇa's mother Udayamatī, hearing of these intentions, and not being able to witness their death, made vow to live or die with them. Karṇa, on the other hand, forced by these circumstances, married Mayaṇallā."

The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, however, does not record the story of the former birth. But it tells us that on looking at the portraits of each other both Mayaṇallā and Karṇa became so much attracted that they determined to marry each other. The match was arranged and Mayaṇallā came to Anahillapur to marry Karṇa with a big dowry of elephants etc., given by her father. She was secretly observed there by Karṇa. Thereupon she determined to die if Karna did not marry her. Karṇa heard this news from the female friends of Mayaṇallā and married her.[1]

From both the above statements it appears that due to certain reason she was determined to marry Karna. It seems that she might have been ugly or otherwise undesirable. Karṇa must have first refused to marry her but later on he consented under the threat of suicide.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* further states that Karṇa had great dislike fo Mayaṇallā. His minister Muñjāla, finding out from the chamberlain that the king was in love with a woman of low rank, dressed up Mayaṇallādevī in her clothes and ornaments and sent her, after the usual monthly ablution, secretly to take the place of that woman. As the king supposed that she was that woman, he received her ardently and she became pregnant etc. The son born from Mayaṇallā was named Jayasiṁha.[2]

From the Jain sources we also get information about his ministers. Dhavalaka, the son of Vimala's brother *Mantrī* Nāḍha, known from a Prākṛta work *Malli-cariu* (Canto 3) composed by Haribhadrasūri, was one of the ministers.[3] From the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*[4] and from the colophon of the *Yoga-dṛṣṭi-samuccaya* composed in the year V.E. 1146 (*c.* 1089 A.D.)[5] we know that Muñjāla was also his minister who, by that time, as referred to in

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[1] *DV.*, Canto IX, Vs. 89–172.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 54–55: अन्यदा कस्यामप्यधमयोषिति साभिलाषं नृपं मुंजालमन्त्री कंचुकिना विज्ञाय तद्वेषधारिणीं मयणल्लदेवीमेव ऋतुस्नातां रहसि प्राहिणोत्। तामेव स्त्रियं जानता नृपतिना सप्रेम भुज्यमानायास्तस्यां आधानं समजनि। तदा च तया संकेतज्ञापनाय नृपकरान्नामाङ्कितमङ्गुलीयकं निजाङ्गुल्या न्यधायि सुलग्ने जातस्य तस्य सूनोर्नृपतिर्जयसिंह इति नाम निर्ममे।

[3] *JSI.*, p. 279.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 54.

[5] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 99: समाप्तोऽयं योगदृष्टिसमुच्चयः। कृतिर्श्वेतभिक्षोराचार्य—हरिभद्रस्य। सं० ११४६ कार्तिक सुदि कर्णदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये—महामात्य मुंजालपट्टकावस्थिते ....

the colophon, had become the chief minister. Sampatkara, a chief known in the prabandhas as Śantū Mantri, was also a chief minister.[1] According to the play *Karṇasundarī-nāṭikā*, he was the patron of the poet Bilhaṇa.[2]

Karṇa was a great builder. He got temples, tanks and cities constructed. His activities have been referred to in their due course.

The family of Karṇa professed Śaivism, but we know from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* that he died peacefully as a *Brahmavādi* and *Harismāri*.[3] It appears, therefore, that in the later part of his reign he became a Vaiṣṇava.

Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1094–1144 A.D.)

His age at the time of his accession: The age of Jayasiṁha at the time of his accession is a point disputed by Jain writers. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* he was three years old when he ascended the throne.[4] The *Kumārapāla-prabandha* of Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi follows the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*,[5] but the *Kumārapāla-carita*[6] of Caritrasundaragaṇi states that at the time of accession Jayasiṁha was eight years old. The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* is also of the same opinion and relates that Jayasiṁha was trained for rulership by the minister Sāntū even when he was eight years old.[7] The contemporary writer Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* gives a different account. Referring to Jayasiṁha, he states:

> "Jayasiṁha, when he grew up, went to the banks of the Sarasvati to play and became an expert in the art of war. He also learnt how to control elephant. When he attained youth, Karṇa got him crowned king. The old king also advised him to protect the four varṇas; to keep the traditions of his ancestors; to behave kindly to his cousin Devaprasāda. Then Karṇa went to heaven with his mind fixed on God Viṣṇu."[8]

From this statement it appears that Jayasiṁha at the time of accession must have been 16 or 18 years old.

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 56–57.
[2] *JSI.*, p. 220.
[3] Canto XI, V. 111.
[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 55: स बालस्त्रिवार्षिकः सवयोभिः कुमारैः रममाणः सिंहासनमलंचक्रे ।
[5] *Ku. Pr.*, p. 5.
[6] Canto I, V. 27.
[7] *SJGM.*, II, p. 35: श्रीजयसिंहदेवेऽष्टवार्षिके श्रीकर्णो दिवंगतः। अष्टवार्षिकः एव स सान्तुमन्त्रिणा गुणश्रेणिं नीतः ।
[8] *DV.*, Canto XI, Vs. 47–111.

In V.E. 1150, in the month of *Pauṣa*, the coronation of Siddharāja took place.[1]

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* gives Jayasiṁha a reign of 49 years from V.E. 1150 to 1199 (*c.* 1094–1143 A.D.).[2] The *Vicāraśreṇi* assigns him the same period.[3] According to the Muslim authorities he ruled for 50 years.[4] We find support for this view from the Bali stone inscription of Jayasiṁha dated V.E. 1200 (*c.* 1144 A.D.).[5]

His early reign: When Jayasiṁha ascended the throne the political condition of the kingdom of Aṇahilapāṭana was quite sound. His forefathers from Mūlarāja down to Bhīma fought with the rulers of Śākāmbharī, Sindh, Naḍḍula, Mālava, Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Cutch and Arbuda Manḍal, but only the last three provinces came within the influence of Aṇahilavāḍa as a critical estimate of the contemporary inscriptions and the Jain chronicles show. Bhīma annexed Candrāvatī, though his success in Mālava was not of much value. According to the Navasāri plates of Karṇa, Karṇa captured a small principality of Lāṭa, and it became a part of Anahilavāḍa kingdom.

Jayasiṁha was a great warrior. On the basis of whatever he inherited from his predecessors, he built a great empire in which the glory of Gujarāta reached its summit. It, however, appears from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* and the *Prabandha-cintāmani* that at the time of Jayasiṁha's coronation court intrigues and violence were rampant. Hemacandra tells a story that soon after Karṇa's death Devaprasāda of the senior branch committed suicide after enjoining his son Tribhuvanapāla to the paternal care of Jayasiṁha.[6] This statement of Hemacandra according to the scholars refers to certain concealed facts. They conjecture that Devaprasāda, son of Kṣemarāja and of a senior line, made an attempt for succession but lost his life. This inference may be supported by the fact that his son Tribhuvanapāla does not appear during the reign of Jayasiṁha; perhaps he was also killed and his grandson Kumārapāla was persecuted by Jayasiṁha for thirty years. During the whole of his long reign Jayasiṁha was bitterly hostile to this branch which appears to have attempted to wrest the succession.[7]

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 55: सं० ११५० वर्षे पौषवदि ३ शनौ श्रवणनक्षत्रे वृषलग्ने श्रीसिद्धराजस्य पट्टाभिषेकः।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 76: संवत् ११५० पूर्वं श्रीसिद्धराज जयसिंहदेवेन वर्ष ४९ राज्यं कृतम्।

[3] *JSS.*, II. No. 4, p. 9.

[4] *AAK.*, II, p. 260; *MA.*, translation, p. 143.

[5] *EI.*, XI, pp. 32–33.

[6] *DV.*, Canto XI, Vs. 115–116.

[7] *DHNI.*, II, p. 968; *GMRI.*, p.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* relates that when Karṇa had gone to heaven, Madanapāla, the brother of the queen Udayamatī, behaved in an unbecoming way. Once he imprisoned the royal physician named Līlā and extorted thirty-two thousand from him. .Then Jayasiṁha by a device of the minister Sāntu killed the tyrannical Madanapāla.[1]

We have no Jain inscriptions for his reign but the other nine published inscriptions give us dates ranging from *c.* 1127 to 1143 A.D. Fortunately we have several colophons of Jain MSS, which may be regarded as valuable contemporary records and throw welcome light on his reign. The colophon of the *Niṣīthi-cūrṇi* dated V.E. 1157 (*c.* 1100 A.D.),[2] that is, seven years after the accession of Jayasiṁha to the throne, refers to the king simply as '*Śrī Jayasiṁhadevarajye*' *i.e.* in the reign of Śrī Jayasimha. The name of the king without title shows his less influential stage. It seems that at that time Jayasiṁha was simply an occupant of the throne. After three years we have another colophon of Jain MS. by name *Ādinātha-carita* dated V.E. 1160 (A.D. 1104),[3] which shows that Jayasiṁha's sway extended upto Cambay. Again after four years we find another colophon of the *Jīva Samāsa-vṛtti* dated V.E. 1164 (*c.* 1108 A.D.)[4] Jayasiṁha is described there as '*Samastarājāvali-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara Śrī Jayasiṁhadeva-kalyāṇavijayarājye*' *i.e.*, in the prosperous reign of the emperor Jayasiṁha surrounded by several kings. At that time king Jayasiṁha might have wielded the sceptre with full powers. The next colophon of the *Āvaśyaka-sutra* dated V.E. 1166 (*c.* 1110 A.D.)[5] gives Jayasiṁha the significant title '*Tribhuvana Gaṇḍa*,' which would mean the Guardian of the Three Worlds. We may assume from this that Jayasiṁha's military activities might have begun by this time and that he was exercising full sovereign powers.

The colophon of the *Pañca-vāstuka* dated in the month of *Phālguna* of V.E. 1179[6] retains the same titles with an addition '*Śrīmat*'. It also states that Śantuka was then the *Mahāmātya* or chief minister. Another colophon of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* dated in the month of *Bhādrapada* of the

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 55.

[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 99: मंगलं महाश्रीः। सं० ११५७ आषाढवदि षष्ठ्यां शुक्रदिने श्री जयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये श्रीभृगुकच्छनिवासिना जिनचरणाराधनतत्परेण.... निशीथिचूर्णिपुस्तकं लिखितम्।

[3] Catalogue of MSS. from Jesalamera, p. 45, fn. 3: विक्कमनिवकालाउ सएसु एक्कारसेसु सट्ठेसु। सिरिजयसिंहनरिन्दे रज्जं परिपालयं तम्मि etc.

[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII' p. 100.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 100' ११६६ पोषवदि २ मंगलदिने महाराजाधिराजत्रैलोक्यगंड श्रीजयसिंहदेवे विजयराज्ये....

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 65: सं० ११७९ फागुणवदि १२ रवौ समस्तराजावलि महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्त्रिभुवनगण्ड श्रीजयसिंघदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये .... सन्तुकप्रतिपत्तौ।

same year,[1] records that at that time the chief minister was Āśuka; it would mean that Sāntuk had retired. The king had an additional title of *Siddhacakravartin*.

The provenance of certain colophons and inscriptions shows that he must have held sway over large portions of Madhya Pradesh and Rājasthān, besides Gujarāta, Kathiawar and Cutch.

His achievements: The main event during the early part of his reign was an attack on Aṇahillapura by Naravarman, the king of Mālava, when Jayasiṁha had been on a pilgrimage to Somanāth with his mother Mayanallā. So Sampatakara or Śāntu who was in charge of the capital had to make peace with the invader by giving Jayasiṁha's merit of pilgrimage to Somanātha. When Jayasiṁha returned he resolved to revenge this insult by waging war against Mālava.[2] From the victory in this war it appears Jayasiṁha bore the titles of sovereign ruler '*Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara*'[3] and also assumed the title of '*Tribhuvanagaṇḍa*.'[4] Merutuṅga indicates that one of the most important acts of the queen-mother Mayanallādevī on the occasion of the pilgrimage was the abolition of the tax at Bāhuloḍa, which yielded seventy-two lacs to the royal treasury.[5]

Next war of Jayasiṁha was against the ruler of Surāṣṭra. Hemacandra in his *Siddha-hema-vyākarana* refers to the victory over Surāṣṭra (*Ajayat Siddhaḥ Saurāṣṭrān*).[6] A detailed description of this account is found in the *Kirti-kaumudī*, in the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha* and *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. The *Kirti-kaumudī* states that Jayasiṁha crushed the very powerful Kheṅgāra of Surāṣṭra in the battle as a lion kills an elephant.[7] The *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa* also gives the name as Kheṅgārarāya,[8] and so does the *Purātana Prabandha-saṅgraha*.[9] The *Prabandha-cintāmani*, however, refers to him by

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[1] *Idid.*, p. 101: सं० ११७९ भाद्रपदवदि .... अद्येह श्रीमदणहिलापाटकाभिधान् राजधान्यां समस्तनिजराजावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-त्रिभुवनगंड श्रीसिद्धचक्रवर्ति श्रीमजयसिंहदेवकल्याण-विजयराज्ये श्री श्रीकरणे महामात्य श्रीआशुकः सकलव्यापारान् करोति।

[2] See *supra* p. 112, Chapter on the Paramāras of Mālava.

[3] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 101.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 65.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 58: यदैव सर्वथाऽयं करमोक्षो भवति तदैवाहं श्रीसोमेश्वरं प्रणमामि नान्यथेति। किंचातः परमशननीरयोर्नियमश्च इति श्रुत्वा राज्ञा पंचकुलमाकार्य....द्वासप्ततिलक्षानु....विमृश्य तं पट्टकं विदार्य, मांतुः श्रेयसे तं करं मुक्त्वा etc.

[6] *Puratatva* (Gujarati), IV, p. 67.

[7] Canto II, V. 25.

[8] *SJGM.*, X, p. 9: पुव्विगुर्जरधाराए जयसिंहदेवेण खंगाररायं हणित्ता सज्जणो दण्डाहिवो ठाविओ।

[9] *SJGM.*, II, pp. 34-35.

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name as Abhira ruler Navaghaṇa. Having suffered defeat eleven times at the hands of Navaghaṇa, Jayasiṁha marched from his capital again for the twelfth time after getting Vardhana and other cities under him, duly protected by newly built-up ramparts. In the ensuing engagement he killed Navaghaṇa and appointed Sajjana as his *Daṇḍādhipati* to look over the affairs of Surāṣṭra.[1] The king of Surāṣṭra is called Kheṅgāra, by several authorities, while the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* in its prose portion refers to him as Navaghaṇa and in its verses[2] he is referred to as Kheṅgāra. Thus it mixes Navaghaṇa with Kheṅgāra. Navaghaṇa was the grandfather of Kheṅgāra.[3] Hence the statement of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* in this connection is apparenty wrong. As to when this event took place we do not know. Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji on the basis of an inscription of Sajjana in the temple of Neminātha at Girnār dated V.E. 1176 (A.D. 1120) assumes that Sajjana was a governor of Surāṣṭra by that time.[4] But it is alleged that there is, however, only one inscription of Jayasiṁha's time in Girnāra which bears no date and does not mention Sajjana.[5] The *Viṁdha-tirtha-kalpa,* on the other hand, refers to Sajjana as the governor of the place who built a temple of Neminātha in V.E. 1185 (*c.* 1129 A.D.)[6] The *Revantagiri-rasu* also confirms this statement.[7] The *Prabhāvaka-carita* clearly states that Saurāṣṭra was in the charge of Sajjana for nine years.[8] The assumption of Pt. Bhagavanlal Indraji, therefore, seems to be correct.

According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Sajjana spent three years' revenue in building the temple.[9] If any reliance be put on the account of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* we can say that Sajjana was the governor of Surāṣṭra

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 64–65: अथ सिद्धराजो नवघणाभिधानमाभीरराणकं निगृहीतुकामः पुरैकादशधा निजसैन्ये पराजिते सति....स्वयमेव etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65, V. 148: सहुक नहीं स गण न कु खाइड ।
सउं पंगारिहि प्राण कि न वइसानरि होमीहं ॥

[3] *Glory That Was Gurjardesh*, III, p. 168.

[4] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, pp. 177–186.

[5] R. C. Parikha, *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Vol. II, Pt. I, Introduction, p. clxxxii.

[6] *SJGM.*, X, p. 9.

[7] *Revantagiri-rāsu, Kadavaka*, 1, V. 9: इक्कारसइ सईंड पंचासीयवच्छरि नेमिभुवणु उद्धरिउ साजणि नरसेहरि ।

[8] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 195, V. 333: अथ प्राग्नवं वर्षं स्वामिनाधिकृतः कृतः ।
आरोहद् गिरिं जीर्णमद्राक्षं च जिनालयम् ॥

[9] *SJGM.*, I, p. 64: तेन स्वामिनमविज्ञाप्यैव वर्षत्रयोद्ग्राहितेन श्रीमदुज्जयन्ते श्रीनेमीश्वरस्य काष्ठमयं प्रासादमपनीय नूतनः शैलमयः प्रासादः कारितः ।

in V.E. 1181–82 (*c.* 1125–26 A.D.). Surāṣṭra, therefore might have been conquered before A.D. 1125–26. The Dohad inscription of the reign of Jayasiṁha dated V.E. 1196 (*c.* 1140 A.D.) tells us that the lords of Surāṣṭra and Mālava[1] were thrown into prison by Jayasiṁha.

According to the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* the first achievement of Jayasiṁha might have been his fight with Barbaraka who was troubling the sages of the time. It is said that he had come with his men as far as Śrīsthalapura (Siddhapur) on the Sarasvatī and devastated the holy place and the temple of Svayambhu Rudra etc. He was assisted by the younger brother of the king of Antardhanadeśa. As the followers of Barbaraka are described as *Rākṣasas* he might have been a leader of some non-aryan tribe. Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji conjectures the modern Babarias of Bābariāvāḍa in the South Kathiawar to be the descendants of Barbaraka. Hemacandra states that in the first encounter Jayasiṁha's army could not stand, and Jayasiṁha imperilled his life as he rushed forward alone and struck a blow on the head of Barbaraka with his sword which broke into two. Then they wrestled with each other and Barbaraka was overpowered and imprisoned. But on the request of Barbaraka's wife, Piṅgalikā, he was released and henceforth became an adherent of the king.[2] This defeat of Barbaraka has also been referred to by a Jain work, namely, *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra,* which states: 'He defeated in battle, Barbaraka the *naktaṁcara* that is *Rākṣasa.*'[3] The commentator on that work confirms this by stating Jayasiṁha as '*Babbar-jiṣṇu.*'[4] According to Jinamaṇḍana, the author of the *Kumārapāla-prabandha,* Jayasiṁha acquired the title 'Siddharāja by subduing Barbaraka.'[5] The Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription dated V.E. 1196 refers to *Varbaraka-jiṣṇu* as one of the titles of Jayasiṁha.[6] Jayasiṁha was called *Siddha* because he subjugated Barbaraka.

We are informed from a Jain colophon of *Navapadalaghu-vṛtti* dated in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* of V.E. 1192 (*c.* 1135 A.D.)[7] that Jayasiṁha assumed one more title *Avantināthа.* Prior to this colophon we have another colophon still earlier by three months, in the month of *Phālguṇa* of V.E. 1191

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[1] *IA.*, X, pp. 158–60: श्रीजयसिंहदेवोऽस्ति भूपो गुर्जरमण्डले।
येन कारागृहे क्षिप्तौ सुराष्ट्रमालवेश्वरौ ॥

[2] *DV.*, Canto XII, Vs. 5–90 and Canto XIII, V. 2.

[3] Chapter IV, V. 125: येन नक्तंचरः सोऽपि युद्धे वर्बरको जितः।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17: जय जय वब्बरजिष्णौ....भूपजयसिंह....।

[5] सिद्धो बर्बरकश्चास्य सिद्धराजस्ततोऽभवत्।

[6] *ASI.*, WC., 1921, pp. 54–55.

[7] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 103: सं० ११९२ ज्येष्ठसुदि....अवन्तीनाथ श्रीजयसिंहदेवकल्याण-विजयराज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने....।

(c. 1135 A.D.),[1] where he is mentioned by only those titles as are mentioned previously. The sudden appearance of this new title has some significance.

We have already referred to one war of Jayasiṁha with the Mālava king Naravarman. We have also discussed in detail about this war and another war with Naravarman's son, Yaśovarman, in the context of the history of the Paramāras.[2] So we need not repeat all the description here. The Sundhā Hill inscription composed by the Jain monk, Jayamaṅgala, states that Jayasiṁha was assisted in this war of Mālava by the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Āsarāja.[3]

The date of the conquest over Mālava: As to when this war took place, we have certain clues as afforded by the Jain sources. We have seen above the two Jain works. The early praśasti written in the month of *Phālguṇa*, that is three months earlier, does not refer to the title *'Avantinātha,'* but the colophon of the month *Jyeṣṭha* confers upon him the title of *'Avantinātha.'* It seems the final battle must have been won within these three months. The Gala inscription of Jayasiṁha dated V.E. 1193 (c. 1137 A.D.) also mentions among the other titles of Jayasiṁha, the title *Avantinātha*, that is, Lord of Avanti.[4] The Lalwāḍā Gaṇapati image inscription tells us that Jayasimha humbled the pride of Naravarman, while the Dohad pillar inscription states that he threw into prison the ruler of Mālava.[5] The Vaḍanagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla also mentions that Jayasiṁha fettered the proud king of Mālava.[6]

Jayasiṁha, on becoming the lord of Avanti, came into contact with the Candellas, the Kalacuri and probably the Gāhaḍavālas. I have refered to a struggle of Jayasiṁha with Candella Madanavarma while dealing with the Candellas.[7] In that war Jayasimha except detaining a substantial tribute, did not gain much meterial advantage and the war ended in a friendly alliance.[8]

As regards the relation with Kalacuri the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 103: सं० ११९१ वर्षे भाद्रपद सुदि ८ भौमे अद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके स. रा. वि. म. प. प. श्रीभुवनगंड सिद्धचक्रवर्ति श्रीजयसिंहदेवेन।

[2] See *supra* pp. 109–110.

[3] *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 26: श्रीआशाराजनामा समजनि वसुधानायकस्तस्य बन्धुः। साहाय्यं मालवानां भुवि यदसि कृतं वीक्ष्य सिद्धाधिराजः॥

[4] *JBRAS.*, XXV, 1917–21, pp. 322–24.

[5] *DHNI.*, II, p. 965.

[6] *EI.*, I, p. 293 ff. V. 11.

[7] See *supra*, p. 68.

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 64: अथ कदाचित् डाहलदेशीयनृपतेः सान्धिविग्रहिकैरुक्तः etc.

that the king of the country of Dāhala wrote to Jayasiṁha a letter of alliance. The king of Dāhala was probably the Kalacuri Yasaḥ-karṇa (*c*. 1073–1126 A.D.).[1] Regarding the Gāhaḍavāla, the same authority states that Jayasiṁha maintained diplomatic relations with Jayacandra, 'king of Banaras.'[2] But the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayacandra (*c*. 1170–93 A.D.) given in this connection appears to be a mistake for Govindacandra (*c*. 1114–55 A.D.).

After referring to these victorious campaigns of Jayasiṁha, the Jain sources mention three more struggles. The *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra[3] and a treatise on *alaṅkāra* by Vāgbhaṭa state that Jayasiṁha defeated Sindhurāja. Siṁhadevagaṇi, the commentator of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*, states that he was *Sindhudeśādhipa*, *i.e.*, the Lord of Sindha. We do not know who this king of Sindhudeśa was. The *Kīrti-kaumudī* states:

> 'Śaṅkha asks Vastupāla to hand over Combay to him, as this city was subject to his father (*Pitṛbhukti*), while Vastupāla answers him that it was taken by *Nṛpasiṁha*, after fighting with *Siṁha*, who was assisted by cavalry men.'[4]

Muni Jinavijayajı conjectures that Sindhurāja was the same as according to the *Hammīra-madamardana* and *Vasanta-vilāsa* was the father of Śaṅkha. Narasiṁha of the *Kīrti-kaumudī* is undoubtedly Jayasiṁha.[5] According to the late Pt. Ojha, Sindhurāja in the above reference is the same as has been referred to in a Kiradu inscription of A.D. 1252.[6] The Dohad inscription of Jayasiṁha of 1140 A.D. contains the reference of this war, therefore, this must have taken place before that time.[7]

Another war with the king of Sapādalakṣa is referred to by the *Prabandha-cintamani*. It states, "He returned Sapādalakṣa with several lacs to the humbled Āṇaka king."[8] The *Kīrti-kaumudī* of Someśvara also confirms the fact and states that Jayasiṁha gave his daughter to the Cāhamāna.[9]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 74· कदाचित्सिद्धराजस्य वाग्मी कश्चित्सान्धिविग्रहिको जयचन्द्रनाम्ना। काशिपुरीश्वरेण etc.

[2] P. 12.

[3] Chapter 4, V. 129.

[4] Canto II, Vs. 26–27.

[5] R. C. Parikha, *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Introduction, p. clxxx.

[6] *Prasthān* (Guj.), Vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 226.

[7] *IA.*, X, p. 158 ff. V. 2: अन्येऽप्युत्सादिता येन सिन्धुराजादयो नृपाः।

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 476.

[9] Canto 2, Vs. 27–29· अगस्त्य इव यस्तूर्णमर्णोराजमशोषयत्।
गृहीत्वा दुहिता तूर्णमर्णोराजस्य विष्णुना etc.

This Ānaka has been rightly identified with King Arṇorāja or Āṇa (1139–1153 A.D.), the son of Ajayarāja. An inscription from Sāmbhara confirms the fact that Āṇaka was under the influence of Jayasiṁha.[1]

Regarding his southern campaign we have information from the Jain sources. Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi in his *Kumārapāla-prabandha* writes 'The sword whose edge was chewed in by Jayasiṁha before the *Yoginis* coming from the Himalayas were brought from the Paramardi ruler of Kalyāṇa-kataka."[2] A Jain MS refers to an expedition of Jayasiṁha to Devagiri from which he proceeded to Paithan which submitted to him. He induced certain families called Vīrajas or Vīravanijas who appear to have been silk weavers to accompany him to Paṭtan and stay there. The glories of Pātan are then recounted to the Vīrajas.[3]

The contemporary king of Jayasiṁha at Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka at that time was Vikramāditya VI who bore the title of Paramardi. An inscription of Jayasiṁha from Talwar too speaks about his humbling the pride of Paramardi.[4] A Jain inscription from Kolhāpur of Śaka era 1058 (A.D. 1136) mentions the Vīravanijas, a commercial class of South India.[5] I have elsewhere said that Jayasiṁha took an incursion of Southern India accompanied by Jagaddeva.[6] The *Kolhāpur-prabandha*, in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, reveals his influence over that region.[7] All these references, epigraphic as well as literary, confirm the fact that Jayasiṁha might have invaded the Caulukya dominion and after marching upto Paithan might have returned, coming into friendly terms with Vikramāditya VI.

From the above stated nearly ten struggles, Jayasimha appears to have been a great king. He ruled as an unchallenged master of the imperial Gujarāta from Sāmbhara to the frontiers of Koṅkaṇa. His empire comprised modern Gujarāta including Lāṭa, Saurāṣtra, Kaccha, some parts of Rājāsthāna, Mālava and Central India. His epigraphs and the colophons of the MSS of his time show that he bore four promiscuous titles, such as *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa, Siddha-cakravarti, Avantinātha* and *Barbarakajiṣṇu*, His greatness does not lie in the conquests only, but also in his building of architectural

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[1] *IA*. (1929), pp. 234–36.

[2] P. 7.

[3] Bhandarkar, R G., Rep. of Search of San. MSS during the year 1883–84, p. 10 ff. Original p. 314.

[4] *RMR*., 1915, p. 2.

[5] *EI*., XIX, p. 30 ff.

[6] See *infra*, p. 261.

[7] *SJGM*., I, p. 73.

works and his multifarious cultural activities, which impressed much his contemporaries and succeeding generations, thus immortalising his name in the annals of India.

Four great things: The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* quotes a verse which tells us that Jayasiṁha accomplished four great things which nobody could do. They were — the temple of *Mahā Rudrakāla* at Siddhapur, the great artificial lake (*Sahasraliṅga*) at Pātan; the great pilgrimage to Someśvara on foot (*Mahāyātrā*); great place (*Mahāsthānā*),[1] most probably the *Dānaśālā* built near the lake Sahasraliṅga — a sort of free boarding and lodging place for students.

Mahāyātrā: The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, in its fifteenth canto, refers to all these things. It states that in Siddhapura on the banks of the river Sarasvatī he built Rudra Mahālaya.[2] At the same place he also built a temple of the last Arhat, *i.e.*, Mahāvīra, and properly honoured the *Arhat-saṅgha*.[3] After this he proceeded to his pilgrimage to Somanātha on foot.[4] In Devapaṭṭaṇa he was received by Audumbari Gaṇḍa who was in charge of the city.[5] The king worshipped Śiva and requested him a son.[6] Upon this Śambhu told him touching his hairy head, 'your brother Tribhuvanapāla's son Kumārapala will be the king after you,' and disappeared.[7] From Somanātha Jayasiṁha went to Raivataka mountain and paid his reverence to Neminātha, the twenty-second Jain Tīrthaṅkara.[8] After that he went to Śatruñjaya and there he worshipped Nābheya, the first Tīrthaṅkara.[9] He founded a city, Siṁhapura (mod. Sihor), near Śatruñjaya and granted it with other villages to Brāhmanas.[10] Then he returned to his capital and performed sacrifices and removed the doubts which arose regarding certain rituals.[11] He also gave *dakṣiṇās* to Brāhmaṇas. After this for his *Iṣṭa*

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 75.

[2] *DV.*, XV, V. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vs. 16–17.

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 18.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vs. 37–38.

[6] *Ibid.*, V. 53.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vs. 54–56: मूर्ध्नि कैश्यं स्पृशञ्छम्भुः पाणिना प्रत्युवाच तम् ।
त्वद्भ्रात्रीयः त्रिभुवनपाल पुत्रोऽस्त धूः क्षमः ॥
कुमारपाल सोऽश्वीयस्त्वदन्ते क्ष्मां धरिष्यति ।
इत्युक्त्वान्तर्हिते शम्भौ .... ॥

[8] *Ibid.*, Vs. 61–88.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vs. 89–95.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vs. 97–98.

[11] *Ibid.*, V. 108.

pūrti he constructed the Great Lake (*Mahāsara*).[1] On the outskirts of this Lake were *Satraśālās* for the Brāhmanas for sacrificial purposes, one hundred and eight temples of goddesses, a temple of *Daśāvatāra* of Viṣṇu, *Maṭhas* to house students and teachers well-versed in different branches of learning.[2]

We have separate descriptions of all these four excellent things in the Jain prabandhas. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* tells us that Jayasiṁha built the Rudra Mahākāla-prāsāda twenty-three hands in measurement; perhaps it was the inner hall in which the principal image was seated. In the temple, before the image of god Śiva, there were statues of *aśvapatis, gajapatis, narapatis* and in front of these statues the statue of Jayasiṁha was erected praying with folded hands so that the temple might never suffer any destruction. The same authority further relates that when the flag was hoisted on that temple, the flags from the Jain temples were lowered.[3]

An unpublished prabandha informs us that minister Aliga was in charge of building the Rudra Mahālaya. He also built there a Rājavihāra temple at his own expense. Thereupon the king became pleased with him and granted him several villages in V.E. 1198 (A.D. 1142). From this statement we may infer that Jayasiṁha might have commenced the building of Rudra Mahālaya after his conquest of Mālava in V.E. 1192 (A.D. 1136) and it took him six years to complete the work.[4]

Great Lake: The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* calls it Siddhasara.[5] According to other Jain authorities like the *Vasanta-vilāsa, Moharāja-parājaya* and *Hammīra-mada-mardana* there was only one lake near Aṇahillapāṭaṇa constructed by Durlabharāja. According to the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* this Durlabha lake once dried up. Jayasiṁha was very anxious to get it filled with water again.[6] The *Prabhāvaka-carita* states that the poet Śrīpāla wrote a *praśasti* of Durlabharāja-sara (lake) while the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that he wrote that of Sahasraliṅga lake.[7] The poet Śrīpāla, un-

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[1] *Ibid.*, V. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 115–122.

[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 61: त्रयोविंशतिहस्तप्रमाणं परिपूर्णप्रासादं कारयामास। तत्र प्रासादे अश्वपति गजपति नरपति....मूर्तीं कारयित्वा तत्पुरो योजिताञ्जलिं स्वां मूर्तिं निर्माप्य देशभंगेऽपि तान् प्रासादस्याभङ्गं याचितवान् तस्य प्रासादस्य ध्वजारोपप्रस्तावे सर्वेषामपि जैनप्रासादानां पताकावरोहं कारितवान्।

[4] *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Introduction, p. clxxxviii

[5] Canto II, V. 35: यत्कारितं सिद्धसरः सरस्वत्।

[6] D. K. Sāstrī, *GMRI.*, I, p. 258.

[7] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 190, V. 205: श्रीदुर्लभनरोराजे तथा रुद्रमहालये etc.

(*ii*) *Ibid.*, I, p. 61: श्रीपालकविना सहस्रलिंगसरोवरस्य रचितायां प्रशस्तौ etc.

doubtedly, was the contemporary of Jayasiṁha. We, therefore, reconciling all the references, may say that Jayasimha might have repaired or expanded the lake constructed by his ancestors.

The *Sukrta-saṁkīrtana* states that Jayasiṁha erected a *Kīrtistambha* after his world conquests.[1] Fortunately a stone column of *Kīrtistambha* has been discovered in which a *praśasti* by Śrīpāla is engraved.[2]

Aṇahilapāṭana: Aṇahilapātana in his days was the centre of all kinds of activities, as Dhārā or Ujjayinī was in the days of Bhoja. It was a city of temples, planned like a *Svāstika* and surrounded by a high wall with towers and bastions of stones. It was a city full of wealth. Its commercial and maritime activities were carried on by the merchants through Cambay. The rich of the city had their mansions with gardens, lovely with flowers. Its citizens both male and female were cultured. The people were liberal, hospitable, brave and adventurous.[3]

Siddharāja made Aṇahilapāṭaṇa the home of learning also. The religious zeal with which the Jain *sādhus* have preserved their MSS gives a fine picture of the intellectual activities of Pātaṇa. The Brāhmaṇas led all such activities and were the special objects of royal munificence. They were the architects of Pāṭana's cultural greatness.[4] Hemacandra also gives a short picture of the religious and educational life of Pāṭaṇa. Jayasiṁha established schools for the study of *Jyotiṣaśāstra, Nyāyaśāstra* and the *Purāṇas*.[5] Jayasiṁha encouraged students and scholars for the advancement of learning by distributing prizes and stipends.

Hemacandra: The great Jain monk Hemacandra had a lasting influence on him. He became, first of all, court Pandit and then court annalist. On the instance of the king Hemacandra wrote a monumental work on grammar naming it after the king and himself—*Siddha-Hema-Vyākaraṇa*.[7] Hemacandra enjoyed the royal friendship and got full help and encouragement from the king in his vast literary output.[8] As a contemporary court

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[1] Canto II, V. 37: विश्वं जगद्येन विजित्य कीर्तिस्तम्भस्तथा कोपि महान् अकारि।

[2] *Prasthāna* (Gujarati), XII, No. 5, p. 293.

[3] *DV.*, Canto I, Vs. 4–134.

[4] *Ibid.*, Canto XV, Vs. 115, 121; I, Vs. 7–39.

[5] *Ibid.*, Canto I, Vs. 46–65.

[6] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 186, Vs. 112–115.

[7] *Ibid*,. I, pp. 60–61.

[8] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 186, Vs. 103–110.

annalist Hemacandra has given a good description of Jayasiṁha's prosperous reign in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya.* The *prabandha* literature describes many more anecdotes about Jayasiṁha's relations with Hemacandra. Hemacandra appears to be a moral guide of Jayasiṁha.

Scholars: Besides Hemacandra there were other scholars in the court of Jayasiṁha. The poet laureate, Śrīpāla, wrote the *Vairocana-parājaya* and several other *praśastis.* He called himself as Jayasiṁha's adopted brother (*pratipanna-bandhu*).[1] According to Somaprabhācārya Siddharāja Jayasiṁha called Śrīpāla as *Kavīndra* and brother.[2]

The poet Vāgbhaṭa, the author of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra,*[3] Jayamaṅgalācārya, the author of the *Kaviśikṣā,*[4] Vardhamānasūri who wrote the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi,* a work on grammar,[5] were among the other scholars who flourished in his reign.

Great personalities: Among the great personalities and political figures of his reign, we can quote several names. The queen mother Mayaṇallā, the old minister Sāntū or Saṁpatkar, Muñjāla, Āśuka Dāḍaka, Mahādeva, and Udayana are well-known figures in Jain sources.

We have referred to Mayaṇallā in the context of Karṇa. Mayaṇallā, after the death of Karṇa, brought up the young king Jayasiṁha with the help of the minister Śāntū. She also devoted her life to religion and went often on pilgrimage to Somanāth. One of her religious deeds was the removal of pilgrim tax of Somanāth through her son. It is said the tax yielded seventy-two lakhs to the royal treasury.[6] She was a great woman. Her influence was great in shaping the early life of Jayasiṁha. She lived a long life and saw her son fully prosperous and died at an advanced age, a little before the conquest of Mālava in 1135 A.D. A verse from the *Prabandha-kośa* shows as to how Jayasiṁha loved his mother: "No woman should bear a son like me whom fate brought the greatest of his cherished wishes, only when his mother was no more."[7]

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[1] *EI.*, I, p. 300: एकाहनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः श्रीसिद्धराजः प्रतिपन्नबन्धुः ।
श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥

[2] *Kumārapāla-pratibodha Praśasti*: श्रीसिद्धराजेन: 'कवीन्द्र' इति च 'भ्राते'ति च ।

[3] *Kāvyamālā*, XLVIII.

[4] Peterson report 1882–83, p. 80, Introduction, p. 31.

[5] *Jain Sāhityano Itihās*, p. 255.

[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 57.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 115: मा स्म सीमन्तिनी कापि जनयेत्पुत्रमीदृशम् ।
वृद्धप्राप्यफलं यस्य मृतमातुरनन्तरम् ॥

Sāntū was the son of Varnāg and Sompuri and native of Baroda. He was the first governor of Lāṭa under Karṇa.[1] Later he was appointed as the chief minister.[2] He was patron of the poet Bilhaṇa. According to him Sāntū was always engrossed in state affairs.[3] He had no time even to talk to his children or his young wives. He was a master of statecraft. In the early part of Jayasiṁha's reign he was the prime-minister. Jayasiṁha received his training under his able guidance. He wielded supreme power till 1123 A.D.[4] Then in wrath he resigned the post. He left Pātan and went to Dhārā. Jayasiṁha expressed his repentance and requested Sāntū to return. On his way back he died at Āhaḍa, near Udaipur.[5]

From the colophon of the *Dṛṣṭi-samuccaya* we know that Muñjāla was a *Mahāmātya* of Karṇa in V.E. 1146 (1090 A.D.)[6] and according to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, he was in the confidence of Karṇa and Mīnaladevī.[7] From the same work it also appears that he also accompanied Jayasiṁha in the last war of Dhārā and managed to capture Dhārā. At his suggestion a wooden sword instead of a real sword was given to Yaśovarman. He was prime-minister then.[8] If the statement of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* is true Muñjāla must have lived a long life at least till 1135 A.D. His post of prime-ministership seems to be doubtful for we know that in the reign of Karṇa, Sāntū was the prime-minister and the other *Mahāmātyas* after Śāntū were found discharging the duties of the office in the reign of Jayasiṁha. It seems *Mahāmātya* might have been a mere title.

Another colophon of the Jain MS informs us that in V.E. 1179 (1123 A.D.) Āśuka occupied the position of the chief minister.[9] Jayasiṁha at his suggestion took the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya.[10] The *Prabhāvaka-carita* and *Mudrita-kumudacandra* state that Āśuka was present at the debate between Digambar Kumudacandra and Devasūri.[11]

A colophon of V.E. 1191 (1135 A.D.) informs us that *Mahattama*

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[1] See *supra* p. 246.
[2] *PC.*, p. 57: अन्यास्मिन्नवसरे सान्तूनामा महामात्यः ।
[3] Prologue of the *Karṇasundarī*.
[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 65.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 31–32.
[6] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 99.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 54–55.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 58–59.
[9] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 101.
[10] *Jain Sāhityano Itihās*, p. 247.
[11] *SJGM.*, XIII, Devasūri, p. 181, V. 270; *MK.*, Act 3.

Gāṅgala was in charge of the state affairs.[1] His reference is also found in the context of the debate between Kumudacandra and Devasūri.[2] This debate took place in V.E. 1081 and at that time Gāṅgala was in charge of court or legal documents.[3]

We do not find the reference to the minister Dāḍaka in the Jain sources. His son Mahādeva was a general in the army and from a Jain colophon of V.E. 1208 it appears that he became the trusted minister of Kumārapāla.[4]

Minister Udayana was in charge of the port of Cambay.[5] His role was comparatively less important.

The commentator Siṁhadevagaṇi of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* informs us that the author Vāgbhaṭa was also the minister of Jayasiṁha.[6] Mr. M. D. Desai, the author of the *Jain Sāhityano Itihās*, refers to two more ministers, Ānanda and his son Pṛthvīpāla.[7] The fact that Pṛthvīpāla was the minister in the reign of Kumārapāla is known from a colophon of a Jain MS, the *Mallinātha-carita*.[8] His father Ananda was also chief-minister who is referred to in the Pāli record of V.E. 1201. Chief-minister Pṛthvīpāla is said there to be the son of chief-minister Ānanda.[9]

The ministers Śāntū, Muñjāla and Udayana built after their names Śāntū-vasahikā, Muñjāla-vasahikā and Udayana-vihāra respectively.

Identification of Jagadeva: The Jain prabandhas refer to one Jagadeva in the court of Jayasiṁha. According to the *Kīrti-kaumudī* "he was a city warden of the Gurjaras. He guarded the city and no enemy dared to enter in it. Without him the *Rājyalakṣmī* of the Gurjaras happened to be in wretched condition."[10] This statement, however, does not clearly show either in whose reign he held that post or to which clan he belonged. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that Jagadeva was a *Kṣatriya* and was respected by Jayasiṁha. He was a hero of three qualities. He went to king Para-

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[1] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p, 103, No. 38.
[2] *Ibid.*, XIII, Devasūri, V. 172.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p, 106.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 77: [illegible]
[6] *Kāvyamālā*, XLVIII, p. 148.
[7] P. 225.
[8] *GOS.*, XXXVII.
[9] *Prācīna Jaina Lekha-saṅgraha*, No. 381.
[10] Canto II, V. 99: [illegible] ।
[illegible] ॥

mardi of Kuntala country, having left Siddharāja. He regarded the wife of Paramardi as his sister. He repulsed the attack of the king of Śrīmāla who invaded the country of Paramardi.[1] The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* refers to Jagadeva of the Paramāra clan who was an associate of Jayasiṁha.[2] The Bardic tradition records Jagadeva as a Paramāra.

Among these conflicting references we have to decide as to who this Jagadeva was. We have shown elsewhere that Jagadeva the associate of Jayasiṁha could not be a Paramāra ruler. His association with Paramardi tempts to suggest us that he must have been a man of Southern India. Pt. Bhagawanlal Indraji suggests that this Jagadeva might have been identical with the son of the sister of the Kadamba Jayakeśi's mother.[3]

This Jayakeśi was the king of Goa and the nephew of queen Mayaṇallā, the mother of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. It is probable that he might have lived with Jayasiṁha for some time and later on he might have gone to Cālukya king Parama (Paramardi) Jagadekamalla (V.E. 1174-1206). Jagadeva was the name of one of the vassals of this Cālukya king. Jagadeva belonged to the Sāntāra family and bore the title Tribhuvanamalla. He was in charge of Mahiśūra *Maṇḍala* (Mysore) and lived also in the reign of Taila III, the successor of Parama.[4]

This conjecture seems to have been true. Jagadeva of Sāntārakula might have come over to Pāṭaṇa in relation to queen Mayanallā. The *Prabandha-cintāmani* records him as *Trividha Veera* which may be taken as the synonym of Tribhuvanamalla. We have an inscription of Jagadeva dated V.E. 1206, which indicates that after the death of Jayasiṁha in V.E. 1199 he went to the south in the service of Paramardi. In some respects, therefore, the statements of the *Prabandha-cintāmani* are reliable.[5]

His religion: His family religion was Śaivism but he had great respect for other religions also. He made a pilgrimage to Somanāth, no doubt, but he also visited Raivataka and Śatruñjaya, the two holy places of the Jains.[6] According to the *Prabandha-cintāmani* he honoured and recognised all the branches of philosophy.[7] He treated equally all the followers of different

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 114-116.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 25.

[3] D. K. Sāstrī, *Aitihāsika Saṁśodhana*, p. 62.

[4] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 172 and Pt. II, p. 488.

[5] A detailed discussion has been made in the *Aitihāsika Saṁśodhana* (Gujarati) by D. K. Sāstrī under the head '*Jagadeva Paramāra*,' pp. 51-64.

[6] See *supra* p. 255.

[7] *SJGM.*, I, p. 70: सर्वदर्शनमान्यताप्रबन्धः।

(*c*. 1135 A.D.),[1] where he is mentioned by only those titles as are mentioned previously. The sudden appearance of this new title has some significance.

We have already referred to one war of Jayasiṁha with the Mālava king Naravarman. We have also discussed in detail about this war and another war with Naravarman's son, Yaśovarman, in the context of the history of the Paramāras.[2] So we need not repeat all the description here. The Sundhā Hill inscription composed by the Jain monk, Jayamaṅgala, states that Jayasiṁha was assisted in this war of Mālava by the Naḍḍūla Cahamāna Āsarāja.[3]

The date of the conquest over Mālava: As to when this war took place, we have certain clues as afforded by the Jain sources. We have seen above the two Jain works. The early praśasti written in the month of *Phālguṇa*, that is three months earlier, does not refer to the title *'Avantināthа,'* but the colophon of the month *Jyeṣṭha* confers upon him the title of *'Avantinātha.'* It seems the final battle must have been won within these three months. The Gala inscription of Jayasiṁha dated V.E. 1193 (*c*. 1137 A.D.) also mentions among the other titles of Jayasiṁha, the title *Avantinātha*, that is, Lord of Avanti.[4] The Lalwādā Gaṇapati image inscription tells us that Jayasimha humbled the pride of Naravarman, while the Dohad pillar inscription states that he threw into prison the ruler of Mālava.[5] The Vaḍanagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla also mentions that Jayasiṁha fettered the proud king of Mālava.[6]

Jayasiṁha, on becoming the lord of Avanti, came into contact with the Candellas, the Kalacuri and probably the Gāhaḍavālas. I have refered to a struggle of Jayasiṁha with Candella Madanavarma while dealing with the Candellas.[7] In that war Jayasimha except detaining a substantial tribute, did not gain much meterial advantage and the war ended in a friendly alliance.[8]

As regards the relation with Kalacuri the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 103: सं० ११९१ वर्षे भाद्रपदसुदि ८ भौमे अद्यह धवलक्कके स. रा. वि. म. रा. पर. श्रीभुवनगंड सिद्धचक्रवर्ति श्रीजयसिंहदेवेन।

[2] See *supra* pp. 109–110.

[3] *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 26: श्रीआशाराजनामा समजनि वसुधानायकस्तस्य बन्धुः।
साहाय्यं मालवानां भुवि यदसि कृतं वीक्ष्य सिद्धाधिराजः॥

[4] *JBRAS.*, XXV, 1917–21, pp. 322–24.

[5] *DHNI.*, II, p. 966.

[6] *EI.*, I, p. 293 ff. V. 11.

[7] See *supra*, p. 68.

[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 64: अथ कदाचित् डाहलदेशीयनरपतेः सान्धिविग्रहिकैरानीतः etc.

Karṇa. Kṣemarāja, being of religious temperament, did not accept the throne and it naturally went to Karṇa. Kṣemarāja had a son named Devaprasāda who was living under the care of Karṇa. After the death of Karṇa, leaving his son Tribhuvanapāla under the patronage of Jayasiṁha, he too died not long after Karṇa on Sarasvatī. Jayasiṁha treated Tribhuvanapāla as his own son.[1] Kumārapāla was a son of this Tribhuvanapāla. The fragmentary Citorgadh stone inscription of Kumārapāla also confirms the above statement.[2] The genealogy of Kumārapāla given by Somaprabhācarya in his *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* also approves this.[3]

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, however, gives a different version. According to it Bhīma married a prostitute named Cauladevī who was at Paṭṭana, and was famous for her beauty and merit. Bhīma placed her in his harem. *Her son was Haripāla, his son was Tribhuvanapāla and his son was Kumārapāla.* As Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne and was always on the look-out for an opportunity to compass his destruction.[4] According to the same authority Siddharāja had adopted as his son the prince named Cāhaḍakumāra who in the same work is called as the younger brother of the minister Bāhaḍa.[5] From the Jāin chronicles it appears that during the closing years of Jayasiṁha's reign his court was divided into two factions.[6]

His early days: The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that owing to his hatred of Kumārapāla, Jayasiṁha killed the latter's father Tribhuvanapāla and thus compelled Kumārapāla to become a fugitive.[7] Kumārapāla, on

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[1] *DV.*, Canto V.

[2] *EI.*, XX, p. 209.

[3] *GOS.*, XIV, p. 5.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 77: श्रीमदणहिलपुरपत्तने वृहति श्रीभीमदेवराज्ये साम्राज्यं प्रतिपालयति श्रीभीमेश्वरपुरे वकुलादेवीनाम्नी पण्याङ्गना पत्तनप्रसिद्धं गुणपात्रं रूपपात्रं च....तस्यास्तां प्रवृत्तिमवगम्यतामन्तःपुरेन्यधात्। तदंगजो हरिपाळदेवस्तत्सुतस्त्रिभुवनपालः तत्पुत्रः कुमारपालदेवः। ....भवदनन्तरमयं नृपो भविष्यति इति सिद्धनृपो विज्ञप्तः तस्मिन् हीनजातावित्यसहिष्णुतया विनाशावसरं सततमन्वेषयामास।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 79: चाहडनाम कुमारः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नपुत्रः।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[7] *KC.*, III, 67 ff.: कुमारपालं राज्यार्हं मत्वा द्विद्वेप तं प्रति।
मित्रादीन् घातयित्वा तं घातयामीति वध्दधीः॥
अघातयत् त्रिभुवनपालं स प्रेष्य घातकान् ....।
तावत्स्वजीवितंमुक्त्वा....॥
धीमन्मुक्त्वा दधिस्थल्यां त्वं देशान्तरमाश्रय।
ततो भुक्त्वा दधिस्थल्यां स्वीयां भोपालदे प्रियाम्॥
भ्रात्राद्यपरिवारं च कुमारो निरगान्निशि॥

the advice of his brother-in-law Kānhaḍadeva, wandered in distant countries for a long time. His adventurous early travels, however, are referred to by several authorities. According to the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* when Kumārapāla left Aṇahillapura, through fear of murder, he was about twenty years old. He travelled in various parts of India and went on pilgrimage to Kedārnath seven times. He had to travel in disguise for thirty years. He proceeded to Aṇahillapura when he heard of Jayasiṁha's death in the shop of a shoemaker at Ujjayini.[1] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states:

> "Kumārapāla was so closely pursued that he was at last compelled to take shelter with the great minister Udayana at Cambay. The latter was persuaded to help Kumārapāla in his escape by the prediction of the Jain monk Hemacandra that Kumārapāla would be crowned as a king in V.E. 1199, on the second day of *Kārtika*, on Sunday in the *nakṣatra* of *Hasta*. It is stated there that Kumārapāla being astonished by this prediction said to the monk: "If this is true, then you shall be king and I will be the dust of your feet." When Kumārapāla made this promise, the hermit exclaimed, "What have I to do with desire for a kingdom that leads to hell? Let it be so. But you must be grateful and must not forget this speech and must always be devoted to the law of Jina." Kumārapāla reverently accepted this admonition and took leave of him.[2]

It is said when Kumārapāla was pursued by the soldiers of Jayasiṁha he was helped in various ways by Hemacandra. The contemporary reference to his wandering, we have in the *Moharāja-parājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla wherein it is stated that "He wandered all over the earth out of a sheer spirit of adventure."[3] The description of his wanderings is found in somewhat greater detail in the Prabandha literature which seems more or less fictitious.

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 38: सोऽपि विंशतिवर्षदेशीयः पुराच्छन्नो निःससार। सप्तवारं भ्रमन्केदारयात्रामकरोत् एवं तस्य देशान्तरे ३० वर्षाणि जातानि कदाचिदुज्जयिन्यां चर्मकारगृहे सिद्धेशो विनष्टः श्रुतः ततः पत्तनमागतः।

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 77–78: तदनु स विविधानि देशान्तराणि परिभ्रमन् स्तम्भतीर्थे महं श्रीउदयनपार्श्वे शम्बलं याचितुमागतः। तं पौषधशालास्थितमाकर्ण्य तत्रागतं तस्मिन्नुदयनेन पृष्टः श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्यः प्राह .... सं० ११९९ वर्षे कार्तिक २ रवौ हस्तनक्षत्रे यदि भवतः पट्टाभिषेको न भवति तदाऽतःपरं निमित्तावलोकनसंन्यासः....यद्यदः सत्यं तदा भवानेव नृपतिः अहं तु त्वच्चरणरेणुः....।

[3] *GOS.*, IX, Act I, p. 28: एको यः सकलं कुतूहलितया बभ्राम भूमण्डलम्।

His accession: According to the *Kumārapāla-carita* Jayasiṁha died suddenly within seven days of the arrival of Kumārapāla at Aṇahilapāṭaṇa.[1] Certain scholars on the basis of this statement infer that there was some hand of Kumārapāla and his party in the death of Jayasiṁha.[2] But, fortunately, we have an eye-witness account in the form of a colophon of the Prākṛt Jain work, *Muni-suvratasvāmi-carita* of Śrīcandrasūri, which shows how a voluntary death was embraced by Jayasiṁha by fasting.[3]

Another contemporary of Kumārapāla, Somaprabhasūri, in his *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, records the following account of his accession to the throne:

> "When Jayasiṁha went to heaven to make friends with the king of the gods, earth became sad as lotuses do when the sun sets. Then the ministers, who surpassed the teacher of gods—*Bṛhaspati*—in intelligence, seeing the kingdom without a protector began to converse like this (then follows the genealogy of Kumārapāla from Bhīma I): 'His (Tribhuvanapāla's) son named Kumārapāla is bright, of a pleasant face and like Indra in splendour. He is liberal, brave and a protector of the helpless. He is endowed with all royal qualities, therefore let us make him a king in deference to others possessing no merits.' Thus consulting with one another and seeking unanimity with palmists and astrologers etc., Kumārapāla was installed on the throne by the ministers. The whole world became satisfied."[4]

According to Merutuṅga after Jayasiṁha's death Kānhaḍadeva made his forces ready for battle and played the part of a king-maker.[5] It appears that including him there were three candidates for the throne. Kumārapāla was at this time 50 years old. Once in power, he proved to be a vigorous and effective ruler.

Merutuṅga tells us that "Kumārapāla on account of his mature age and the discernment that he acquired by wandering about in foreign countries, himself held the reins of government and thereby gave offence to the old royal servants." They planned to kill him, but he got the clue of this plot and dismissed those ministers to the city of *Yama*. He did not hesitate to

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[1] *KC.*, Canto III, Vs. 446–448: सप्तदिन्यां कुमारैतद्राज्यं भात्रि तव ध्रवं .... तदैव दैवयोगेन चिरं भुक्त्वा महीमिमां, जयसिंहमहीजानिः देवभूयं समासदत्।

[2] *DHNI.*, II, V. 976.

[3] *GOS.*, LXXVI, Cat. of MSS. at Patan, pp. 314–322:

अह सग्गचालीस दिणाइं पालिऊणं समाहिणाणसणं।
धम्मज्झाणपरायणचिन्तो जो परभवं पत्तो ॥

[4] *GOS.*, XIV, *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, p. 5.

[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 78, par. 129.

punish even his brother-in-law who was once instrumental in getting him the throne and who afterwards had become haughty and contemptuous. Kumārapāla first gave him warning which he did not heed, then by the order of the king he was blinded and his limbs were broken by his athletes. After this most of his officers, taking the lesson that the king should not be taken lightly, submitted to him.[1] According to the same authority Cāhaḍa, the adopted son of Jayasiṁha, escaped and with a section of the royal army took service under the king of Sapādalakṣa.[2] The *Kumārapāla-carita* informs us that Kumārapāla, after his coronation, made Bhopālladevī his *Paṭṭarāṇī* and Udayana his chief minister.[3] This Udayana was, no doubt, the same man who had helped him to escape from the fury of Jayasiṁha at Cambay. Within two or three years of his early reign Kumārapāla restored order in his kingdom, consolidated his power and its empire reached its zenith.

Reign period: The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* gives him a reign of 31 years from V.E. 1199 to 1230.[4] The *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* assigns him a reign of 30 years and 6 months, while *Āin-i-Akabari* records only 23 years.[5] The *Vicāraśreṇi* allots him a reign from 1199 to 1229 V.E.[6] The Bāli inscription of his predecessor is dated V.E. 1200.[7] and the Nadalāi stone inscription of Kumārapāla refers to his date V.E. 1228[8] and the Udaipur inscription of his successors Ajayapāla is found bearing the date V.E. 1229.[9] From these it appears that the *Vicāraśreṇi* and *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* do not represent the true tradition regarding the upper and lower limits of his reign.

His conquests: His extensive conquests prove that Kumārapāla was a great warrior like his predecessor. Hemacandra in his Saṁskṛt and Prākṛt *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* records an account of his several wars. In his Saṁskṛt *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* he refers to his two wars, one with king Āṇṇa of Sapādalākṣa and the other with Ballāla of Mālava. He states that looking at the energy and vigilance of their sovereign, neighbouring chieftains like those

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79: स प्रौडतया देशान्तरपरिभ्रमणनैपुण्येन राज्यशास्तिं स्वयंकुर्वन् राजवृद्धानामरोचमानस्तैः सम्भूय व्यापादयितुं व्यवसितः। सान्धकारगोपुरेषु न्यस्तेषु....तानि प्रधानान्यन्तकपुरीं प्राहिणोत्।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79: चाहडनामा कुमारः सपादलक्षीयभूपतेः पत्तिभावं वभार।

[3] *KC.*, III, V. 478.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 95: सं० ११९९ वर्षपूर्वं ३१ श्रीकुमारपालदेवेन राज्यं कृतम्।

[5] *MA.*, Trans., p. 143.

[6] *AAK.*, II, p. 260.

[7] *EI.*, XI, pp. 32–33.

[8] *EI.*, XI, pp. 47–48.

[9] *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 344–48.

of Mahiyas (according to the commentary ruler of Godraha) and Rāṣṭriyas attended him.[1] Then the king Āṇṇa with the other kings of the north arose suddenly against Kumārapāla. The commentary explains the reason of this sudden occurrence by saying that, after the death of Jayasiṁha, Āṇṇa, supposing the government to be new and Kumārapāla to be weak, attacked him.[2] According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* the king of Sapādalākṣa was instigated to attack the frontiers of Gujarāta by Cāhaḍa, the adopted son of Jayasiṁha. "Cāhaḍa, desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, false honour and gift and bringing with him the king of the Sapādalākṣa country with a formidable army, arrived on the borders of Gujarāt." Kumārapāla encountered the attack. It further relates that at first the position of Kumārapāla in the battle was serious. He observed his soldiers disobeying his orders, even his driver of the royal elephant refusing to follow him. He saw everywhere corruption in the army. But in the end, through his personal bravery and skill, he was able to overpower his enemy. Cāhaḍa was captured by his foot-man while Āṇṇa was wounded with an iron dart.[3]

The *Dvyāśrya-kāvya* states: "A secret emissary of Kumārapāla came and informed him that within a day Āṇṇa would be attacking the boundary of his kingdom. Some of Kumārapāla's former allies including Cāhaḍa, the head of the elephant section of his army had joined the enemy and the king of Gonarda, that is Ballāla, who was Kumārapāla's vassal, had also joined the enemy. The king curbing his anger considered the whole situation calmly and resolved upon his strategy. He sent his general, according to the commentary, a Brāhmaṇa by name Kakka against Ballāla and himself marched against Āṇṇa.[4]

On his way, at Mt. Arbud, Kumārapāla was received by his vassal Vikramasiṁha who treacherously wanted to kill Kumārapāla. But Kumārapāla, due to his constant vigilance, saved his life.[5]

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[1] *DV.*, Canto XVI, V. 6: माहेयराङ्गाष्ट्रियराजमुख्या भूपा अ दूरेत्य भुवो भजन्त।

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 7: अथोत्तराहाखिल पौरहारावारीणपारीणनृपैः सहैव
आन्नो नृपोऽस्मिन्मदतोऽतिपारावारीणनागः सहसा व्यरुद्ध।

Commentary: जयसिंह स्वर्गते नवराजत्वेन कुमारपालमसमर्थं मन्यमानो विरोधकारणाभावेऽप्य-तर्कितं तेन सह विरोधं चकार।

[3] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 70–80.

[4] *DV.*, Canto XVI, Vs. 13–23: भिन्नस्तवं....तं चाहडो हस्त्यधिरोहणेन्द्रः।
Commentary on the V. 17: गौनर्दीयोऽपि....अवन्तिदेशमध्यस्थे पत्तने भवो बल्लालोऽपि।

[5] *SJGM.*, XIII, pp. 199–200, Vs. 487–516.

In the battle Cāhaḍa was taken prisoner and Arṇorāja was wounded. As a result the king of Śākambharī submitted and gave his daughter in marriage to Kumārapāla.[1]

This victory over Arnorāja is also recorded in the *Vasanta-vilāsa*,[2] *Vastupāla-Tejaḥ-pāla-praśasti*,[3] *Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī*,[4] *Prabhāvaka-carita*,[5] *Kumārapāla-prabandha*,[6] *Prabandha-kośa*[7] and *Kumārapāla-carita*.[8]

This struggle with Arnorāja is also supported by a Jain inscription from Citoḍagarha composed by Rāmakīrti, the head of Digambar Jains of V.E. 1207 (*c.* 1150 A.D.). According to this inscription, Sajjana the *Daṇḍanāyaka* assisted Kumārapāla in this war. This also shows that the country of Sapādalakṣa, over which Arnorāja ruled, was devastated. Kumārapāla with his victorious army then encamped at Sālipura near modern Citor in Udaipur District. He accompanied by his new father-in-law Arṇorāja and his general Sajjana went to worship Samideśvara a Citor. He made there a gift of a village to the temple while the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Sajjana donated an oil mill.[9]

According to this inscription this war must have ended in V.E. 1207 (*c.* 1150 A.D.), for a colophon of a Jain MS, the *Pūjāvidhāna*[10] of V.E. 1208 (A.D. 1151) among other titles of Kumārapāla, refers to the title *Prauḍha-pratāpa-nijabhujavinirjita, raṇāṅgaṇopatta, Śākambharībhūpāla,* which must have been borne by Kumārapāla after this war. Several other colophons of Jain MSS mention this title in the following eloquent terms: *Sapādalakṣa-rāṣṭra-vana-dahana-davānām*,[11] *Mahāhavasaṅgrāma-nirvyūḍha pratijñā-prauḍha; nijabhujara ṇāṅga ṇa-nirjita Śākambharībhūpāla*,[12] which remind us that the war with Arnorāja was an important one in the life of Kumārapāla. In the inscriptions of Kumārapāla as well as his vassals this battle has been recorded prominently.[13]

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[1] *DV.*, Canto XIX, Vs. 1–35.

[2] *GOS.*, VII, III, 29. This work refers to the Cāhamāna king as king of Jāṅgala.

[3] *GOS.*, X, p. 58 ff. V. 25.

[4] *Ibid.*, Appendix, II, p. 67 ff. V. 61.

[5] *SJGM.*, XIII, pp. 199–200.

[6] P. 40.

[7] *Ibid.*, VI. p. .

[8] Canto IV, Vs. 213–446.

[9] *EI.*, IX, p. 12 ff.

[10] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 106.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[13] *GMRI.*, pp. 288–289; *DHNI.*, II, p. 988.

The later Jain writers differ in some minor details of this war. According to the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri, the cause of this war was an insult to Kumārapāla's sister, Devalādevī, by her husband Arṇorāja, the ruler of Sapādalakṣa country. She is said to have left the Cāhamāna kingdom and complained to her brother who invaded and defeated him, but at the end he again seated him on his throne.[1] This statement, however, has no support. Moreover, I have elsewhere shown that the story of Devalādevī as a sister of Kumarapāla is mere creation of Jayasiṁhasūri.[2]

Kumārapāla waged another war with the Mālava ruler, Ballāla. We are informed in the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* that Ballāla, the vassal of Kumārapāla, had joined the enemy. He sent his general Kakka against Ballāla. When the Caulukya king returned to his city a messenger from the general came and informed him that two of his vassals, Vijaya and Kṛṣṇaka, proved treacherous and joined the enemy. At the first stage it was felt that the army was almost corrupted. But thanks to the general's ability that all turned well. The soldiers arranging themselves in the shape of "two-boat" attacked the enemy whose army was in the shape of a half-boat, the other half being destroyed. The hero of Avanti the driver of whose elephant was killed, was thrown from his elephant by a group of five kings in the presence of the general. Ballāla, however, was killed by some wicked Brāhmanas before the general could stop it.[3] Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, the two vassals of this statement, have been identified with the Guhila prince Vijayasiṁha of Mewar and Kelhaṇa, the Cāhamāna of Naḍola respectively by Chunnilal Modi. I have shown elsewhere the justification in the identification of Kṛṣṇa with Kelhaṇa,[4] but Vijaya of this statement cannot be identified with the Guhila Vijaya (1108–1116 A.D.) whose period falls quite earlier than Kumārapāla. According to a Jain inscription at Mt. Ābu, Yaśodhavala, the Paramāra of Ābu, was also a military commander in this war.[5] The *Vasanta-vilāsa* also confirms the victory of Kumārapāla over Ballāla.[6] The *Kirti-kaumudi* informs us that Ballāla was beheaded by Kumārapāla.[7]

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[1] *KC.*, Chapter IV, Vs. 170 ff.

[2] See *infra* under 'his family.'

[3] *DV.*, Canto XIX, Vs. 95–126.

[4] *Saṁskṛta Dvyāśraya-kāvyamā Madhyakālīna Gujaratanī Sāmājika Sthiti*, p. 40; see *supra* p. 156.

[5] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 210–11, V. 35: रप्रद्युम्नयशो यशोधवल इत्यासीत्तनूजस्ततः ।
यश्चौलुक्यकुमारपालनृपति प्रत्यर्थितामागतं,
मत्वा सत्वरमेव मालवपतिं बल्लालमालब्धवान् ॥

[6] *GOS.*, III, V. 29: बल्लालमुल्लालयतिस्म खड्गदण्डेन यः कन्दुकलीलयैव ।

[7] Canto 2, V. 48.

The above statements of the Jain chroniclers are strikingly confirmed by the Verāval inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati (A.D. 1169) which refers to Kumārapāla as a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants — Ballāla, the king of Dhārā.[1] I have elsewhere shown who this Ballāla was, and how he came to Mālava.[2]

From the *Prabhāvaka-carita* we know that on his return from the conquest of Sapādalakṣa, Kumārapāla came to Candrāvatī and punished Vikramasiṁha, a feudatory, for his disloyalty. He imprisoned the ruler and gave his principality to his nephew Yaśodhavala, son of Rāmadeva,[3] who helped him in the war against Ballāla. The *Kumārapāla-carita* also supports this statement.[4]

Apart from these wars in quick succession Kumārapāla waged two more wars. The one was with Mallikārjuna, the ruler of Kaunkaṇa (Koṅkaṇa), and the other was against Sumbara, the chief of Surāṣṭra. As regards the first war we have a contemporary account in the *Prākṛt Dvyāśraya-kāvya*.[5] It states that on one occasion *Sāndhivigrahika* reported to the king his success in the war with Mallikārjuna of Koṅkana. He also sent fulsome description of the chosen ranks of the Koṅkana army. He referred to his bravery which would make one forget the valour of the famous fifty-two horses. He further stated the name of the capital city as Thana (modern Thānā near Bombay) from which the enemy came out riding his elephant. Then a bloody war ensued between the hostile armies. The enemy's elephant was pierced by the arrows of the Gurjaras, so also the lotus-like head of the Lord of Koṅkaṇa was cut off by the soldiers and so on. He concluded: "You have earned the royal power of Koṅkaṇa consisting of seven departments. Thus enjoying the south, you are joined to the Śrī of Śrīnagara, Tilaṅga and Kāñcī."[6] We have further proof of this war from the Lūṇa temple inscription of Mt. Ābu (V.E. 1287). It states that, when Dhārāvarṣa inflamed with anger held his ground in the battlefield, the wives of the Lord of Koṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.[7] The chronicles, however, do not mention Dhārāvarṣa's name in this connection.

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[1] *BI.*, pp. 180–93.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 113–14.

[3] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 202, Vs. 565–580.

[4] *KC.*, IV, pp. 421–52

[5] *Pra. DV.*, Canto VI, Vs. 41–42.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vs. 71–72: विढविअ [illegible] etc.

[7] *EI.*, VIII, p. 216, V. 36.

The later Prabandhas describe this elaborately.[1] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* throws more light on this episode. It relates that once Kumārapāla heard a bard bestowing on the king of the country of Koṅkaṇa the biruda of *Rāja-pitāmaha*. Deeply indignant he looked round the assembly and, finding Āmrabhaṭa (also known as Ambaḍa, a son of the prime-minister Udayana) willing to lead an army to destroy that semblance of a king, appointed the general of the army and despatched him with all his chieftains.[2] Somaprabhasūri, a contemporary author, confirms this information of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* by saying that Kumārapāla used to win victories even with *Vaṇija* genenals of the army like Ambaḍa.[3] Ambaḍa marched to Koṅkaṇa without any break and encamped on the further bank of the river Kanavinī. Then he was suddenly attacked and put to flight by Mallıkārjuna. Ambaḍa returned feeling disgraced, but on his request Kumārapāla sent him a new army and other *sāmantas*. Ambaḍa now crossed the river by planning a bridge across it and when the unequal fight began Ambaḍa carefully spotted Mallikārjuna and approached him. He managed to mount Mallikārjuna's elephant and threw him down, when other *sāmantas* or chiefs where engaged in looting the city, he cut off the head of Mallikārjuna and wrapped it in gold and, after establishing the authority of Caulukya sovereign, presented it to his lord at Aṇahillapur. Kumārapāla, thereupon, conferred the title *Rāja-pitāmaha* on Ambaḍa.[4] According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* Mallikārjuna was killed by Cāhamāna Someśvara, who was at that time living at Kumārapāla's court.[5] This Mallikārjuna has been rightly identified with the Śilāhāra prince of that name for whom we have inscriptions dated Śaka 1078 (A.D. 1156) and 1082 (A.D. 1160) respectively. That these Śilāhāras generally bore this title '*Rāja-pitāmaha*',[6] is also known from the history. Pt. Bhagawanlal conjec-

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[1] *PC., Hem-suri-pra*; V. 723, 724; *KC.* of Jayasiṁha, Canto IV, Vs. 455–531; *KP.*, 38, 39; *KC.*, of Carita-Sunder, Canto IV; *Suk.-saṁkīrtana*, Canto II, V. 43; *Vasantavilāsa*, Canto 3, V. 29 etc.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 80–81: चौलुक्यचक्रवर्ती कौङ्कणदेशीय मल्लिकार्जुनाभिधानराज्ञो मागधेन 'राजपितामह' इति विरुदमभिधीयमानमाकर्ण्य तदसहिष्णुतया सभां निभालयन्नृपच्चित्तविदा मंत्रिणाम्बडेन ....तन्नृपं प्रति प्रयाणाय दलनायकीकृत्य पश्चांगप्रसादं दत्वा समस्तसामन्तैः समं विससर्ज।

[3] *GOS.*, XIV, p. 471: अधुना तन्नमस्कारं स्मरतो मम शत्रवः ।
वणिजैरपि जीयन्ते दण्डेशैरम्बडादिभिः ॥

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 81: तस्मिन्देशे चौलुक्यचक्रवर्तिनः आज्ञां दापयन् .... तदवदातप्रीतेन। राज्ञा श्रीमुखेन ....राजपितामह इति विरुदं ददे ॥

[5] *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 274–75.

[6] *GMRI.*, II, p. 294.

tures that this war must have taken place between 1160 and 1162 A.D., for Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya has his inscription of the date of Śaka 1034 (A.D. 1162).[1] But his inference is not correct, for we have one colophon of the Jain MS named *Pṛthvīcandra-carita* of V.E. 1212 (A.D. 1155) which gives Kumārapāla a title '*Karṇāṭarāyamānamardanakaraṁ*.[2] This title shows that Kumārapāla must have won the victory over Mallikārjuna before V.E. 1212 (1155 A.D.)

The above-mentioned three wars find their mention in the contemporary Jain literature, as well as in the epigraphs and colophons of the Jain MSS. But the war with the king of Surāṣṭra is found mentioned in the later Prabandhas only. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that this war was led by the prime minister Udayana. It is said that at first Udayana went to worship the feet of Lord Ṛṣabha on the Vimala mountain and sent all the heads of provinces to march on ahead of him. "After that, he marched on and reached the encampment of his army, and an engagement took place with that hostile chief. As the king's force was defeated by his enemies, the great Udayana himself rose up to fight. Then his body was mangled by the blows of the enemy and he was carried to his quarters weeping bitterly. Seeing his end near he expressed his desire for the temple of Śatruñjaya to be restored, for which a satisfactory assurance was given to him.[3]

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that Kumārapāla's brother named Kīrtipāla went to encounter the king of Saurāṣṭra. Udayana went to held him with an army from Cambay. In this war Udayana was mortally wounded. He had cherished a desire of erecting the temple of Ādinātha of stone at Śatruñjaya which at that time was made of wood. He, therefore, could not breathe his lost. On Kīrtipāla's assurance that his son Vāgbhaṭa would fulfil his desire, he expired peacefully. Accordingly Vāgbhaṭa restored the temple in V.E. 1213.[4] The *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri describes that in this battle the army of Udayana was defeated and in the dual Udayana killed the king of Saurāṣṭra and gave the throne to his son. Minister Udayana, while returning, fainted in the way, but regaining his consciousness he expressed his desire to restore the temple of Śatruñjaya before other feudatories which was fulfilled afterwards by his sons in V.E. 1211.[5]

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

2 *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 107.

3 *SJGM.*, I, 86–87.

4 *Ibid.*, XIII, *Hemacandrasūri-caritaṁ*, Vs. 430–450 and 762–64.

5 *KC.*, VIII, Vs. 477–520 and 642.

Who was this king of Saurāṣṭra? The various MSS of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* give several variants of his name such as Saunsara, Sausara, Susara and Suṁbara.[1] The *Prabhāvaka-carita* refers to his name as Nava-ghaṇa.[2] The *Kumārapāla-carita* names him as Samarasa.[3] Pt. Bhagawanlal suggests that the Surāṣtra chieftain was possibly some Gohalvād Mehra chief, and he may have belonged to the family of Ābhīra Cūdāsama chiefs of Junāgarh who had been giving trouble to the Caulukyaṣ since the days of Mūlarāja.[4]

This war must have been fought before V.E. 1209 (A.D. 1152), for we know from the Sundhā hill stone inscription, which is no doubt a Jain authority, that Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Ālhana helped Kumārapāla in suppressing a revolt in mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra (*Girau Saurāṣṭre*).[5] A Kirādu inscription of Ālhaṇa of V E. 1209 (A.D. 1152) informs us that Ālhaṇa 'by the grace of his sovereign Lord *Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Kumārapāla*' had obtained a principality consisting of Kirādu in Jodhpur division, Raddhāḍa and Śiva in Marwar when Mahādeva the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa was the prime minister at Pāṭan.[6] Pt. Bhagawanlal calculates that this war must have taken place some time in 1149 A.D. (V.E. 1205) on the ground of the Jaina Prabandhas wherein it is stated that the repairs of the temple of Śatruñjaya as wished by Udayana were finished in V.E. 1211 (A.D. 1154).[7] It seems that the repairs must have started four or five years back from the date of restoration.

The chroniclers of Gujarāta as well as the epigraphs of the Caulukyas record only the victories of their kings and maintain silence about their defeats. Some of the facts, however, we may know from the records of the neighbouring kings. A Jain inscription from Bijoliā of Someśwara dated V.E. 1226 records that the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja, the son of Arnorāja, invaded the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Ālhaṇa, devastated Naḍḍūla and burnt Jābālipura.[8] This inscription indicates that Vigraharāja had retaliated for the former defeat of his father Arṇorāja, and since Kumārapāla was a powerful ruler, he instead of attacking him, attacked his feudatory Ālhaṇa.

The Prākṛt section of *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* also records briefly the exploits

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[1] *SJGM*, I, p. 86, fn. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 198; V. 431: तद्देशाधीश्वरं निगृहीतुं नवधनाभिधम्।

[3] *KC.*, VIII, V. 475.

[4] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 186.

[5] *EI.*, XI, p. 70 ff.

[6] *EI.*, IX, p. 68.

[7] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 186.

[8] *EI.*, XXVI, p. 84-112, V. 21: जावालिपुरं ज्वालापुरं कृता पह्लिकापि पह्लीव etc.

of Kumārapāla's army in other parts of the country. Several princes of other countries tendered submission to Kumārapāla. They were the princes of Javana, Kānyakubja, Varāṇasī, Magadha, Gauḍa, Daśārṇa, Cedi, Mathurā and finally the king of Jāṅgala, the Turuṣka ruler Mohamma da and the emperor of Delhi.[1]

Jayasiṁhasūri also in the *Kumārapāla-carita* gives an elaborate description of his *digvijaya*. He indicates in a poem the limits of Kumārapāla's *digvijaya* upto the Ganges in the east, the Vindhyas in the south, Sindhu in the west and the Turuṣka (land) in the north.[2] Within these limits during his victorious campaign he subdued the princes of Jāvālipura (Jalor), Sapādalakṣa, Kurumaṇḍala, Madhyadeśa, Mālava, Pāncāla, Ābhīra-viṣaya, Vindhya area, Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha, Pāñcanada, Multan and the Śaka country.[3] Though the statement seems to be exaggerated, we however, know that some of them were really subdued by Kumārapāla. We have in connection with the Candellas described a war with king Madanavarma whose territory extended upto Daśārṇa and who in his old age fought a battle with Kumārapāla at Daśārṇa. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* also records this war. It states that the king of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka once proceeded to attack Kumārapāla but he died on the way.[4] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* mentions one invasion by a Dāhala king named Karṇa against Kumārapāla. The report of this invasion took Kumārapāla by surprise and he was in a state of total harassment, knowing not what to do. But as Karṇa was marching by night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, eyes closed in sleep, a gold chain that he wore on his neck was caught in a banyan tree and he was hanged to death.[5]

If this story is true king Karṇa must be the Dāhala Kalacuri Gaya Karna who ruled about 1151 A.D. But we have no epigraphical evidence for this story.

From the statements of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* and *Kumārapāla-carita* it, however, appears that in the time of Kumārapāla Gurjara empire was of considerable extent and the king enjoyed a wider influence over a large part of the country as never known before.

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[1] *Pr. DV.*, Canto VI, Vs. 74–106.

[2] *KC.*, IV, V. 117: आगंगमैन्द्रीमाविन्ध्यं याम्यामासिन्धु पश्चिमाम् ।
आतुरुष्कं च कौबेरीं चौलुक्यः साधयिष्यति ॥

See also *K. Pr.* 35–36, *Hemacandra, Mahāvīra-carita* : XII, 52 ; *Sukṛtakīrti-kallolinī* (*GOS.*, X), V. 60.

[3] *KC.*, IV, 1–118.

[4] See *supra* p. 68.

[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 92.

Most of the inscriptions belonging to Kumārapāla's reign discovered uptil now are those of his *sāmantas* or vassals. The Mangrol inscription of V.E. 1202 (A.D. 1146) refers to Muluka of Gohila family as Kumārapāla's vassal.[1] The two Kirādu inscriptions dated respectively V.E. 1205 (A.D. 1149) and V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1162), inform us that Someśvara of the Paramāra family was his feudatory chief.[2] From the Tejaḥpāla temple inscription at Mt. Ābu of V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1162) we know that Yaśodhavala and Dhārāvarṣa Paramāra family were under his suzerainty.[3] Kelhaṇa and Kīrtipāla of the Cauhāṇa family were Kumārapāla's *sāmantas*.[4]

The above account gives us some idea about the extent of the Gurjara Empire at the time of Caulukya Kumārapāla.

His ministers: After his accession, Kumārapāla, according to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, appointed his benefactor Bāhaḍa (Vāgbhaṭa), the son of Udayana, as his first prime minister,[5] but the later writers such as Jayasiṁhasūri,[6] Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi[7] and other *Prabandha* writers state that Udayana was raised to the prime ministership and his son Bāhaḍa was appointed as a minister in charge of various royal duties. Unfortunately, regarding the prime ministership of Udayana, we have no reference in the contemporary or early literature. Bāhaḍa was, no doubt, a minister according to the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*.[8] The Nāḍol copper plate of V.E. 1213 also confirms this,[9] but there is no mention either in the contemporary literature or in epigraphs. We know also another Vāgbhaṭa as the author of an *alaṅkāra* treatise, who flourished in the reign of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. The commentator on his work calls him as a son of Soma.[10] According to

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[1] *BI.*, pp. 158–60.

[2] Nahar — *Jaina Lekha-saṅgraha*, Pt. I, pp. 252–53; See also *EI.*, XX, Appendix, p. 47, No. 372; *BI.*, pp. 172–73.

[3] *EI.*, VIII, p. 216, V. 36.

[4] See *supra* pp. 156–160.

[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 79: तेन राज्ञा पूर्वोपकारकर्तुः श्रीमदुदयनस्यात्मजः श्रीवाग्भटदेवनामा महामात्यश्चक्रे ।

[6] *KC.*, Canto II, V. 476.

[7] *K. Pra.*, p. 34: राजनीतिविदा राज्ञा पूर्वोपकारकर्त्रे उदयनाय महामात्यपदं दत्तं तत्पुत्रो वाग्भटः सकलराजकार्येषु व्यापारितः।

[8] *DV.*, Canto XX, Vs. 91–92.

[9] *IA.*, 1912, p. 203: महामात्यश्रीवाहडदेवे श्रीश्रीकरणादौ सकलमुद्राव्यापारान्परि .... ।

[10] *Kāvyamālā*, No. 48. Commentary on V. 148 and Vs. 45, 76, 81, 85, 125, 132 etc.

the *Prabhāvaka-carita* he constructed a Jain temple in V.E. 1178.[1] The religious activities of Udayana's son, Bāhaḍa or Vāgbhaṭa, are elaborately narrated in the *Prabhāvaka-carita*[2] as well as in the later Prabandhas.

Āmrabhaṭa or Āmhaḍa was the other minister of Kumārapāla about whom we know from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* and *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* that he invaded Koṅkāṇa and killed Mallikārjuna.[3] He was most probably the son of Udayana and brother of Bāhaḍa from his step-mother.

Udayana's third son was Cāhaḍa who was also a minister of Kumārapāla. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* he was in charge of the invasion over the Sapādalakṣa country.[4] The Udayapur inscription of V.E. 1222 mentions one Cāhaḍa who was in charge of the military in Mālava.[5]

Apart from these, some of the ministers are known from the Jain *praśastis* (colophons). A colophon of the Jain MS entitled *Pūjāvidhāna*, informs that in V.E. 1208 one Mahādeva was the prime minister of Kumārapāla.[6] The Kirādū stone pillar inscription of the date V.E. 1209 also refers to Mahādeva as in charge of the signet, the seal, etc.[7] The Bali inscription dated 1216 V.E. also confirms the statement.[8] According to the Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription of Jayasiṁha, dated 1195 V.E. (*c.* 1138 A.D.), Mālava was ruled at this time by Mahādeva, the son of Dāḍaka of the Nāgara race. His father, according to the same inscription, was also prime minister of Jayasiṁha, 'the keeper of the seal at Aṇahilapāṭaka.'[9] This shows that Mahādeva may have been the prime minister from the very beginning of Kumārapāla's reign, to V.E. 1216. It also appears from the above-mentioned Naḍol copper plate that, from V.E. 1216 to V.E. 1218, Bāhaḍa may have been functioning as the prime minister. From a colophon of the *Kalpacūrṇi* dated V.E. 1218 (*c.* 1161 A.D.) we know that another prime minister, by name Yaśodhavala, was in charge of the signet, the seal etc.[10] The Udayana stone inscription of the reign of Kumārapāla dated V.E. 1220 (A.D. 1163) also refers to the *Mahāmātya* Yaśodhavala as managing the

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[1] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 173, Vs. 67–73 in the *Vadidevasūri-caritaṃ*.

[2] *Ibid.*, *Hemacandrasūri-caritaṃ*, pp, 199–211.

[3] See *supra* p. 270.

[4] *SJGM.*, p. 94: अथ कस्मिन्नवसरे सपादलक्षं प्रति सज्जीकृते सैन्ये श्रीवाग्भटस्यानुजन्मा चाहडनामसमंत्री . . . . कृशमनुशिष्य भूपतिना सेनापतिश्चक्रे।

[5] *IA.*, XVIII, p. 344; *HIG.*, Pt. II, No. 151.

[6] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 106.

[7] *HIG.*, Pt. II, No. 148.

[8] *Ibid.*, III, No. 149 A.

[9] *Ibid.*, III, No. 144 A.; *IA.*, XLII, p. 258.

[10] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 109.

affairs of the state.[1] According to another colophon of *Jñātā-Dharma Kathādiṣaḍaṅga-prakarana,* dated V.E. 1225 (*c.* 1168 A.D.), a *Mahāmātya* Kumārasiṁha was in charge of the state affairs.[2] This Kumārasiṁha is referred to as one of the seven sons of minister Bāhaḍa in the Girnar fragmentary stone inscription.[3] From the two other *praśastis* we know that *Mahattama* Vādhūyana[4] and Sāmanta[5] were the ministers in V.E. 1227 and 1228 respectively. A colophon of Apabhraṁśa work *Mallınāha-cariu* refers to prime minister Pṛthvīpāla[6] This minister repaired the Vimala Jain temple of Mt. Ābu.[7] Among other ministers Kapardi is mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇı*. It is said that at his suggestion Kumārapāla, even at the age of fifty, learnt Saṁskṛt grammar. Kapardi was also a friend of Hemacandra.[8] When Vāgbhaṭa (Bāhaḍa) was attending to the building of the temple at Śatruñjaya near which he founded a town named after him, he gave the charge of his post to this Kapardin.[9] Kapardi was one of those persons who accompanied Kumārapāla in his pilgrimage. He is called *Bhāṇḍāgārika* Kapardin by the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha*[10] In the *Prabandha-kośa* of Rājaśekhara he is stated to have been a leader amongst poets and donors.[11] Kapardin was given the post of prime ministership by Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla. Even though warned by Maruka who knew the significance of omens, he accepted the post. He was later on arrested and killed by Ajayapāla in his palace.[12]

It seems that these numerous ministers were all ın charge of various departments of the provinces and they were called ministers and sometimes were made prime ministers. Some of them also held posts of generals and led the armies during wars.

His generals: About Kumārapāla's generals we have also some information. The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* mentions the Gurjara-Brahmasenānī, whom the

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[1] *IA.*, XVIII, p. 383.

[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 110.

[3] *HIG.*, III, No. 208.

[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 110.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[6] *GOS*, XXXVII, p. 79.

[7] *Arbuda Pıabandha Jain Lekha-sandoha*, Pt. II, p. 39, No. 72, V.E. 1206.

[8] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 88–89: तद्वचनानन्तरं राज्ञा शब्दव्युत्पत्तिहेतवे पञ्चाशद्वर्षदेश्येन कस्याप्युपाध्यायस्य समीपे मातृकापाठात्प्रभृति शास्त्राण्यारभ्यैकेन वर्षेण वृत्तिकाव्यत्रयमधीतम् ।

[9] *SJGM.*, I, p. 87.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, p. 43.

[11] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 48 कवीनां दातॄणां च धुर्यो भाण्डागारिकः कपर्दी ।

[12] *Ibid.*, I, p. 96.

commentator Abhayatilakagaṇi identified with Kakka. He crushed the rebellion of Ballāla.[1] A Jain inscription from Citorgarh composed by Digambara Rāmakīrti refers to *Daṇḍanāyaka* Sajjana who accompanied Kumārapāla in his expedition against Āṇaka.[2] This Sajjana is probably the same as was appointed the governor of Saurāṣṭra by Jayasiṁha and according to the *Vividha Tīrtha-kalpa* built a temple on Girnar mountain in V.E. 1185 (A.D. 1129).[3] If he be the same person he must have been very old at the time of Kumārapāla's expedition. According to the colophon of the *Pṛthvicandra-carita* of the date V.E. 1212 (*c.* 1155 A.D.) there was a powerful general by name Vosari, who was ruling the region of Lāṭa between the rivers Māhi and Damana with full rights.[4] He was by caste a Brahmaṇa and was once the companion of Kumarapāla in the time of his distress. In the days of his fugitive life he followed Kumārapāla like a shadow and wandered with him through villages and forests. It is said in the Prabandhas regarding Kumārapāla's life that, after accession, Kumārapāla appointed him as a great general to rule over Lāṭa country.[5] We, however, do not find his name either in any contemporary literature or in epigraphs. From a Jain inscription of V.E. 1213 found at Ghāṇerāva[6] we hear of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva of Kumārapāla. He is also known as Vaija or Vajayaladeva. We have two other inscriptions about him of the dates V.E. 1210 and 1216 from Bhatunda and Bāli (both in Jodhpur division) respectively.[7] He was ruling over Naḍḍūla territory which belonged to the feudatory Cāhamāna family. According to an inscription of Ajayapāla Caulukya, dated V.E. 1231, he is mentioned as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* (Governor) ruling over *Narmadātaṭa, i.e.,* Lāṭa country.[8] We also know from the Jain sources some of the important personages, such as *Purohits* like Savvadeva, Someśvara and Āmiga, an astrologer like Indra and a man in charge of charitable institutes like Abhayakumāra.[9]

His court: In the court of Kumārapāla besides his ministers, generals and feudatories, there were several religious teachers, scholars, poets and

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[1] *DV.*, XIX, V. 125.
[2] *EI.*, II, p. 422.
[3] *SJGM.*, X, p. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 107.
[5] *Ibid.*, XVIII, Introduction, p. 18.
[6] P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 218.
[7] *AIS.*, WC., 1907, p. 52.
[8] *EI.*, XVIII, p. 80.
[9] *GMRI.*, p. 323.

wealthy men. Foremost among the scholars was Jain monk Hemacandra. He carried on multifarious religious activities with his headquarters at Aṇahilapāṭaka. Round him was a circle of eminent scholars. Most of them were his pupils. Poet Rāmacandra, who wrote several works, was his chief pupil. Poet Śrīpāla and his son Siddhapāla also were the eminent poets of the time.[1]

His religion and reforms: In his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* Hemacandra states that soon after the wars were over Kumārapāla prohibited killing of animals in Gujarat. The king published the edict to protect animals[2] and he gave up the custom of confiscating the property of those who died without leaving behind an heir.[3] Later on he rebuilt the temple of Śiva at Kedāra, or Kedāranātha in Garhwal[4] and at Devapaṭṭaṇa in Kathiawar.[5] He erected two temples of Pārśvanātha, one at Aṇahilavāḍa and another at Devapaṭṭaṇa named Kumāravihāra.[6] The last two events of Kumārapāla's reign mentioned in the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* are the building of a temple of Śiva in Aṇahilavāḍa[7] and the foundation of a new era after his name.[8] The *Mahavira-carita* of Hemacandra states that, after the acquaintance with the great teacher Hemacandra, he heard with great delight the noble sermon about the law from his lips and then he took the minor vows and strove for their fulfilment and so on.[9] These statements clearly show that Kumārapala was inclined towards the Jainism. The later Prabandhas, however, claim that Kumārapāla gave up Śaivism to embrace Jainism. The conversion of the king is allegorically mentioned as his marriage with princess Kṛpāsundarī, *i.e.*, the beautiful Mercy, the daughter of Dharmarāja and Viratidevī. According to the quotation of Jinamaṇḍana from the *Moharāja-parājaya* this marriage took place in V.E. 1216, Mārga, Sudi 2.[10] Since the *Moharāja-parājaya* was written a few years after the death of

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[1] M. D. Deasi, *Jain Sāhityano Itihās*, Pt. III, Chapters 4–7.

[2] *DV.*, Canto XX, Vs. 5–37: प्रपद्य ते पूर्ण ककुज्जनैरमार्यघोषणामात्रिक ककुद्भिरेर्व्यधुः।

[3] *Ibid.*, Vs. 38–88: पुरे पुरे स्वस्य हठापहृत्या सुतो सुतो दुःस्थ इति स्मरन्सः।
अथ प्रजा नन्दयितैक एकाममात्यमैकमिति न्यदिक्षत् ॥

[4] *Ibid.*, Vs. 90–93.

[5] *Ibid.*, V. 94.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vs. 98–100.

[7] *Ibid.*, V. 101.

[8] *Ibid.*, V. 102: क्ष्मानृण्यीकरणात्प्रवर्तय निजं संवत्सरं चेत्य ऋपि।

[9] Canto XII, Vs. 45–96.

[10] Life of Hemacandra, p. 90: तपो भेदमुद्रिकाद्यलंकृतायाः कृपासुन्दर्याः सं० १२१६ मार्ग सु० २ दिने पाणिं जग्राह कुमारपालः।

Kumārapāla between V.E. 1229 and 1232, this date, therefore, must be taken as authentic. We may also add to this that Kumārapāla received the title *Paramaśrāvaka*, i.e., the most eager hearer of the Jain doctrine. This is known from colophon of the MS of a Jain work named *Jñātādharma-kathā* and also from the *Ratnacūḍa-kathā*, which was written five years later in 1221 (1164 A.D.).[1] The Jālor inscription of the same year calls Kumārapāla *Paramārhata*.[2] The *Moharāja-parājaya* specially emphasises Kumārapāla's prohibition of the four *vyasanas* and abolition of the rule by which the property of those who died heirless was confiscated by the state.[3] It states that the king through his *daṇḍapāśikas* suppressed the people who had excessive indulgence in gambling, meat-eating, wine-drinking, butchery, robbery and adultery. But it is strange that prostitution does not find mention among these sins.[4] Gambling, it appears, was very common amongst the nobles, princes and general public. The names of five kinds of gambling are given in the *Moharāja-parājaya, viz.*, (i) *Ambhiya*, (ii) *Nālaya*, (iii) *Caturaṅga*, (iv) *Akṣa* and (v) *Varada*. Severe punishments were prescribed for the habitual gamblers; for instance some had their hands, feet and ears chopped off; of others the eyes were removed and of some all the limbs were to be cut off.[5] The same authority, referring to the names of the men of the highest families amongst the habitual gamblers, shows that gambling was deeply rooted at that time in the society and was resulting in certain bad consequences. We are further told in that connection that certain persons were so much addicted to gambling that they did not stop even if their father, mother, or any other relatives died. According to the same authority the various sects like the Kaul, Kapālika, Rahamāna, Ghaṭacataka and Māri were indulging in animal slaughter.[6]

The great portion of the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of Somaprabha, another contemporary work, describes the Jain teaching given to the king by Hemacandra and sets forth Kumārapāla's prohibiting the slaughter of animals, meat-eating, gambling and prostitution. The most interesting effect of Jain teaching on the king was his withdrawal of the right of

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[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 109: सं० १२२१ ज्येष्ठसुदि ५ शुक्रदिने अद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके .... जिनशासनप्रभावक श्रीकुमारपालदेवराज्ये ....।

[2] P. C. Nahar, *Jain Lekha-saṁgraha*, I, p. 239, No. 899: प्रभुश्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरिप्रबोधित-गुर्जरधराधीश्वर-परमार्हत-चौलुक्यमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारपालदेव ....।

[3] *GOS.*, IX, Act III, p. 55 ff: मृतस्वामी निष्पुत्र इति तल्लक्ष्मी नरेन्द्रगृहानुपतिष्ठते।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 83: वेश्याव्यसनं तु वराकमुपेक्षणीयं न तेन स्थितेन गतेन वा।

[5] *Ibid.*, Act IV, V. 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, V. 22 ff.

the state to confiscate the property of those who died childless (*mṛta-dhanāpaharana-niṣedha*.[1] The *Vasanta-vilāsa* also refers to this edict.[2]

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* records that the king assumed the title of '*Paramārhata*' after listening to the teachings of Mahāvīra; that he requested Hemacandra to write some of the scholarly works for him; that he got erected 14,140 Jain temples and that he accepted the twelve vows of Jainism.[3]

Jayasiṁhasūri in the *Kumārapāla-carita* describes the religious zeal of Kumārapāla in six cantos.[4] He states that on the advice of Hemacandra he first gave up eating meat and drinking wine[5] and at the instance of the monk he went to Somanāth accompanied by him (Hemacandra) and worshipped Śiva; Hemacandra then caused Śiva to appear and praise the Jain religion. As a result of this Kumārapāla accepted the *abhakṣaniyama* and fixed his mind on Jainism. It further records the religious discourses between the king and the sage and final acceptance of *Śraddhā-dharma* from Hemacandra and prohibition of non-injury of beings in his kingdom.[6] The same authority informs us that the order became effective in Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Mālava, Ābhīra, Medapāta, Meru and even in Sapādalakṣadeśa.[7] The decree was enforced with such regour that a merchant of Sapādalakṣa for killing a louse that was sucking his blood like a *rākṣasa*, was arrested like a thief and compelled to give up all his property for the foundation of a sanctuary for lice (*Yūkāvihāra*).[8] The slaughter of goats on Navarātras was restricted and the king even sent ministers to Kāśi to suppress injury to animals. The king also went to various Jain sacred places on pilgrimage and established caityas and temples and offered various donations. In the tenth section of the above work we are told that he conferred upon his *Guru* the title of *Kalikāla-sarvajña*[9] and, after selecting Ajayapāla as his successor, died soon after Hemacandra's death. The above-described statements are amply corroborated by those of the other Prabandhas.

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[1] *GOS.*, XIV, pp. 13–16.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII, Canto IV, V. 28: निर्वीरिका वित्तपराङ्मुखोऽपि निर्वीरिकारि क्षितिवित्तमादात्।
यस्त्वन्तसप्तव्यसनोऽपि सप्तराज्याङ्गसङ्गव्यसनी बभूव।

[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 86: प्रतिबुद्धो नृपः परमार्हतविरुद्धं भेजे . . . . सर्वभूतेषु मारिं निवारितः।

[4] Cantos V, X.

[5] *KC.*, Canto V, V. 24 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII, V. 577 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, VII, Vs. 581–82.

[8] *Ibid.*, VII, V. 588 ff.; see also *SJGM.*, I, p. 91.

[9] *Ibid.*, X, V. 106.

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We, however, have no information from the epigraphs of Kumārapāla that he actually prohibited killing of animals, but from the two inscription of his feudatories, we have some information. The undated inscription of Girijādevī, the queen of Pūṇapakṣadeva, the feudatory of Kumārapāla of Naḍḍūla, prohibits only killing on the 11th, 14th and 15th of every month.[1] In a similar inscription of 1153 A.D. found at Kirāḍū, Ālhaṇadeva, the viceroy of Kumārapāla prohibits killing of life on 8th, 11th and 14th of every month on a penalty of five *drammas* in ordinary cases and one *dramma* in the case of a servant of the king.[2]

Despite his devotion to Jainism, Kumārapāla did not completely forget the old cult of his family. In *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* Hemacandra himself speaks of the restoration of the temple of Śivakedāranātha, and of Somanātha following the proclamation of the law of protection and also of the building of a Kumārapāleśvara in Aṇhilavād, built at a still later time after the construction of the Kumāravihāras (Jain temples) in Aṇhilavād and in Devapaṭṭaṇa.[3] The reasons behind the erection of Kumārapāleśvara are very peculiar. Mahādeva, says Hemacandra, appeared himself to Kumārapāla in a dream, announced to him that he was satisfied with his services and expressed his desires to reside in Aṇhilavād.[4] From these facts one can conclude that Kumārapāla despite all his devotion to Hemacandra and despite his adoption to the Jain faith, never totally denied help to the Śaivites. He might have forced them to give up their bloody sacrifices but he permitted the temple priests and the ascetics to their allowances from the royal treasury. There must, have been times when he again drew nearer to Śaiva faith and worshipped Śiva as well as Jina. Such wavering and such mixing of faiths is not unusual in India and such things have happened in old times to other kings also, who had attached themselves to heterodox sects, as, for example, Harṣavardhana, the well-known king of Kanoj.[5]

The court of Kumārapāla was adorned not only by the Jain ministers like Udayana Bāhaḍa and Jain monk Hemacandra and so on, but also equally well by Śaiva minister Kapardin and Śaiva teacher Devabodhi. The latter is supposed to have been a spiritual adviser to Kumārapāla even after his conversion. From the old habits of the king it appears that he could not

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[1] *HIG.*, Pt. III, No. 155 A, p. 178.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, No. 148, pp. 48–49.

[3] See *supra* p. 279.

[4] *DV.*, Canto XX, V. 101 : भत्तो ति साधा उ ततो वसामि,
गिरा उ किं ते पुरि शंभुनेति etc.

[5] *SJGM.*, XI, Life of Hemacandra, p. 46.

leave his earlier association with Saivite ascetics. In the words of Buhler we may say that it is the peculiar tendency of Indian character to reconcile sharp contradictions in different religious systems by conceiving and explaining the same as merely various forms of the same fundamental truth. In the twelfth century we may see that the Brahmanical gods of *Trimūrti* were identified with the Jinas and that probably Hemacandra himself made use of an identification in the beginning of his attempts at Kumārapāla's conversion to his doctrine. It was then quite natural that his convert afterwards worshipped Śiva along with Jina. We may perhaps also asssume that Hemacandra fully concurred in that, for otherwise he could have hardly described so impartially the Śaivite temples built by his patron and pupil.[1]

Moreover, the Udayapur stone pillar inscription of V.E. 1222 (1166 A.D.)[2] and the Veravala stone inscription of Bhāva Bṛhaspati of V.E. 1225 (A.D. 1169)[3] describe him as a devotee of Śiva. Fortunately, a colophon of a Jain MS *Jnātādharmakathādi-ṣaḍaṅga-vivaraṇa* (V.E. 1225) also supports the above view of the two epigraphs by stating the title *Umāpativaralabdha-prasada*.[4]

From the above-narrated circumstances it appears that Hemacandra did not offer any serious opposition to Kumārapāla's Śaivite tendencies and could not wholly lure Kumārapāla away from Śaivism, but he succeeded to some extent in inducing him to observe constantly the most important Jain vows and in exerting a great influence over the government. Gujarata did not, of course, become a Jain empire in the sense that the majority of its population were converted to Jainism. But the edicts against the killing of animals, against spirituous drink, against gambling were successfully enforced and, thus, some of the most important tenets of Jainism came to be rooted into the life of everyone.[5]

His family: Regarding the family and relatives of Kumārapāla we learn that he had two brothers, by name Mahīpāla and Kīrtipāla, perhaps, elder than he was.[6] The later Prabandhas like the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* and the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* refer to his sister.[7] We have already seen that his brother-in-law Kānhaḍadeva was the king-maker,[8] but regarding his second sister early Prabandhas are silent. We find among

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.
[2] *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 343–44.
[3] *HIG.*, Pt. II, No. 155, p. 60.
[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 110.
[5] *SJGM.*, XI, p. 47.
[6] *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, p. 18.
[7] *SJGM.*, II, p. 38 ; *Kumārapāla-prabandha* p. 40.
[8] *SJGM.*, I, p. 78.

the later *prabandha* literature and in Jayasiṁha's *Kumārapāla-carita* an interesting story about Devalādevī. It is said that Devalādevī was married to Cāhamāna king Arṇorāja. She was a devotee of the Jain monks. Once in the dice-playing he said in a joke that he was killing bald-headed monks. Probably his intention was to mock the Jain monks. This occurrence enraged Devalādevī and she asked him never to utter the word 'kill' because his brother had stopped killing totally. But this simple talk developed into a hot dispute and Devalādevī feeling insulted left the Cāhamāna kingdom. The event caused a war in which Arṇorāja was defeated.[1]

This story, however, does not find place in the early and contemporary records. We know that Arṇorāja had two queens, the one by name Sulocanā, who was the daughter of the king of Marudeśa and the other by name Kāñcanadevī the daughter of king Jayasiṁha Caulukya and mother of Someśvara, the father of Pṛthvīrāja III. The *Kīrti-kaumudī* records that Arṇorāja was defeated by Jayasiṁha and later on was married to his daughter.[2] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* also confirms this fact.[3] In the light of these revelations the episode about Devalādevī narrated above, seems to be a more fabrication devised by later chroniclers.[4]

The name of the chief queen of Kumārapāla is mentioned as Bhopāladevī. His other queens were Jalhaṇā, daughter of the Cāhamāna Āṇaka and Padmāvatī.

His character: Kumārapāla was a man of strong character and morality. His daily time table as depicted in the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* and the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* confirms this fact.[5] He was most popular among his subjects. Both the prominent sects of the time, the Jain and the Śaiva, derived encouragement from him. Like Aśoka or Akbar he possessed religious tolerance and was impartial in the management of his affairs. Though he observed some of the Jain vows and promulgated some of them for the well-being of his subjects yet he did not try to come in the way of other religions. His impartiality in the matter of religion is further attested by the Jain authors through the Jain colophons which claim him as a devotee of both the religions. Among so many colophons, at least five refer to him as one who has conquered all kings by the grace of Umā or Pārvatī, *i.e.*, Śiva, and

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[1] *KC.*, Canto IV. Vs. 273–274.

[2] See *supra* p. 132.

[3] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 2.

[4] *Itihās Sammelan, Nibandha-saṁgraha* (Gujarati), 1943. Dr. Dasaratha Śarmā's article on "*Kumārapāla ki Bahana Devalādevī*.

[5] *Pr. DV.*, Cantos 1–2; *GOS.*, XIV, pp. 422–443.

more than five state him as the promotor or the Jain law, *Parama-Śrāvaka* (good Jain devotee) or *Paramārhata*. These colophons are certainly contemporary records ranging mostly from V.E. 1208 to 1228.

Kumārapāla, unfortunately, had no direct male heir to succeed him. According to the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁha he, before his death, discussed with Hemacandra the question and seems to have selected Pratāpamalla, the son of his daughter.[1] The *Prabandha-kośa* tells us that the question was discussed among the trio—Hemacandra, Ābhaḍa and Kumārapāla himself, and Hemacandra advised him to give his throne to his daughter's son, Pratāpamalla, but Ābhaḍa objected. This discussion was overheard by Bālacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra. Since there was a feud between the pupils also regarding the royal succession, Balacandra, a rebel and a friend of Ajayapāla, disclosed everything to him. This made Ajayapāla stir revolt and poison Kumārapāla, thirty-two days after the death of Hemacandra.[2] The *Kumārapāla-prabandha* of Jinamaṇḍanagani also records a similar tale.[3] Ajayapāla's wickedly poisoning his sovereign is recorded in the *Āin-i Akbari*[4] also.

The reign of Jayasiṁha and his successor Kumārapāla may be regarded as the golden period of Gujarāta. Both of them brought within the power of Aṇahilavāda the whole of Mālava and parts of Rājasthana including the kingdom of Śākambharī in Mārwar and Mewar, while they continued their sway over Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa and Cutch. During their time the influence of Gujarāta was felt most, both politically and culturally, and it continued to be felt during the reign of Ajayapāla.

Ajayapāla (1173–1176): Most of the Prabandhas and inscriptions are silent regarding the relationship between Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, but the *Vicāraśreṇi*[5] tells us that Ajayapāla was the son of Mahīpāla, a brother of Kumārapāla. This statement is supported by the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁhasūri which calls Ajayapāla the nephew of Kumārapāla.[6] The *Āin-i-Akbari* also states that Ajayapāla was the nephew of Kumārapāla.[7]

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[1] *KC.*, Canto X, Vs. 107–114.

[2] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 98.

[3] *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, p. 113.

[4] *AAK.*, II, p. 263.

[5] *JSS.*, III, Pt. IV, p. 9: ततः तस्यामेव तिथौ उपवि .... भ्रातृमहीपालदेवसुत अजयपाल देवस्य सं० १२३२ वर्षे फा. सु० १२ निरुद्धं राज्यं व. ३ मा. २

[6] *KC.*, Canto X, V. III: ददाम्यजयपालाय स्वराज्यं भ्रातृसूनवे ।

[7] *AAK.*, II, p. 260,

According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Ajayadeva or Ajayapāla after mounting the throne began to destroy the temples built by his predecessor. It also records that the King entreated minister Kapardin most earnestly to fill the post of the prime-minister, and he gave his consent after consulting some favourable omens. When he took charge of the prime-ministership and returned to his house he was suddenly arrested by the king in the night and put to death by being thrown into a boiling cauldron. After this it also refers to two more incidents: firstly, this 'low villain of a king' murdered the Jain poet, Rāmacandra, the author of a hundred works and the chief pupil of Ramacandra forcibly seating him on a heated plate of copper[1]; secondly, he urged Āmrabhaṭa, the son of Udayana and former minister of Kumārapāla, to submit to him humbling by prostrating before him, but he refused to obey him and said: "In this birth I do obeisance to him who is without passion as a god, to the sage Hemacandra as a teacher and to Kumārāpāla as a master." Thereupon the king became angry and said, "Prepare for battle." Āmrabhata first worshipped the image of the Jina and then "sweeping away from his own mansion the retainers of the king like a heap of chaff, with the wind of his own soldiers, he penetrated as far as the clock-house and passed into existence as a god being emulously chosen by the Apsaras who came to behold that wondrous sight."[2]

Last two events show certainly the anti-Jain policy of Ajayadeva; but these are not recorded in the earlier works like the *Sukṛta-saṁkirtana* and the contemporary Jain works like *Moharāja-parājaya*. Yaśaḥpāla, the author of the latter work, states therein that his father, Dhanadeva, was a *Mantrin* and he described himself as a swan at the lotus-feet of Chakravarti Ajayadeva. It appears from the play that the author himself was *Paramarhata* and a governor or resident of Thārapadra.[3] This shows that Ajayadeva might not have been a bitter enemy of Jainism as reported by the later works. It might be possible that he did not shower great favour on Jainism and, in contrast to his predecessor, practically did nothing for Jainism. That is why he is painted as an anti-Jain monarch.

His conquests: Merutuṅga records no achievements of Ajayapāla.

[1] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 96–97: [illegible] .... [illegible] .... [illegible] .... [illegible] । [illegible] .... [illegible] ।

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97: [illegible] .... [illegible] .... ।

[3] *GOS.*, IX, Introduction.

Some seven verses, describing his achievements, are found inserted in the (P) MS. of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* which seems to be taken from the *Kīrti-kaumudī*. They narrate the following:—

> "After Kumārapāla, there was a king by name Ajayapāla who like a wishing tree removed world's poverty by means of gold. Who putting the feet on the neck of the king of Jāṅgala snatched from him the golden canopy with powerful elephants." In another verse it is stated that "he, always giving the alms, punishing the kings and marrying the women, made all the three qualities (*triguṇa*) equal."[1]

One thing, however, comes out from the above verses that he had defeated the king of Jāṅgala country (modern Ajmer region). This statement is further corroborated by that of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*[2] and the *Vasanta-vilāsa*.[3] The Pāṭan grant of Bhīma II dated V.E. 1256 (c. 1199 A.D.) also confirms the fact.[4] The king of Jāṅgala country may be identified with the Cāhamāna prince Someśvara (V.E. 1226–1234—*c.* 1170–1177 A.D.) formerly a feudatory of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla.[5]

There is some evidence to show that Ajayapāla was engaged in a war with the rising Guhilas of the Rajasthan. From a Jain inscription of the Lūṇa temple at Mt. Abu dated V.E. 1287 we learn that the younger brother of the Paramāra king Dhārāvarṣa by name Prahlādana, defended the illustrious Gurjara king when his power had been broken on the battlefield by Sāmantasiṁha.[6] We know that Dhārāvarṣa (V.E. 1220–1276) had been a vassal of the Caulukya kings and he naturally sided with the Gurjara king in the war. The *Surathotsava* of Someśvara also mentions that Ajayadeva was very much afflicted in the war with Sāmantasiṁha.[7] According to Lüders, Sāmantasiṁha of the above inscription is identical with the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha whose name is found in two inscriptions of Mt. Abu.[8] The inscriptions of this Guhila prince, however, give him the dates V.E. 1228

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, 96: भूपालोऽजयपालोऽभूत्कल्पद्रुमसमस्ततः .... etc.

[2] Canto II, V. 45: सपादलक्षप्रभुणा प्रदत्ता रौक्मी बभौ मण्डपिका सभायाम्।
सेवागतो मेरुरिवास्थिरत्र जितो भृशं यस्य कृशप्रतापः ॥

[3] *GOS.*, VII, Canto III, V. 32: अस्याकृतप्राभृतदुद्गलस्य गलन्भिया ....जागलभूमिपालः।

[4] *IA.*, XI, p. 71.

[5] *GMRI.*, p. 335.

[6] *EI.*, VIII, p. 211, V. 36: सामन्तसिंह समिति क्षितिविक्षितौजः
श्रीगूर्जरक्षितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः।

[7] Canto XV, V. 32.

[8] *EI.*, VIII, p. 202.

(*c.* 1171 A.D.) and 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.).[1] These make him a contemporary of Ajayapāla. He was most probably the contemporary of Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla and his two successors.

His reign period: The *Vicāraśreṇi* states that he reigned for three years and two months, from V.E. 1229 to 1232[2] and the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* also states that he ruled for three years, but beginning from V.E. 1230.[3] The Muslim chronicles also assign him three years.[4] The three epigraphic records of Ajayapāla also show that he reigned at least for three years (V.E. 1229-32).[5]

His death: Regarding the death of Ajayapāla, the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that he, the sinner against religious edifices, was stabbed to death with a knife by a *pratīhāra* (door-keeper) named Vayajaladeva, and being devoured by worms and suffering the tortures of hell every day, he passed into the invisible world.[6] The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* states that the mother of Vaijaladeva was a wanton woman and Ajayapāla kept her in his palace in the darkness. Once Vaijaladeva came intoxicated to hear the king, who on his turn cut a slight joke, saying "go in the apartment but do not see the face." There he met with his mother. From this particular behaviour of king he decided to kill him and one evening he thus killed him with the help of one Dhāngaka. Whatsoever might be the truth behind this story, the intention of the *prabandha* writer in inventing this story is, however, revealed by the concluding verse: "this was neither the crime of Dhānga nor the fear of the *Sāmant* Vaijala but it was only the result of that misdeed by which the great monk was tortured.[7] This only shows that his murder might have had some connection with the anti-Jain religious policy of the king. Vaijaladeva of the above stories is most probably identical with the Cāhamāna Vayajaladeva who was a very influential officer of both Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla.[8]

Mūlarāja II (*c.* 1176–1178 A.D.): Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son, Mūlarāja II, who is called Bāla-Mūlarāja by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-*

[1] *IA.*, 1924, p. 100.
[2] *JSS.*, III, Pt. IV, p. 9.
[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97:
[4] *AAK.*, II, p. 260, *MA.*, Trans., p. 143.
[5] *HIG.*, Pt. II and III, Nos. 156, 157 and 157 A.
[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97: स कुनृपतिर्वयजलदेवनाम्ना प्रतीहारेण क्षुरिकया हतो धर्मस्थानपातकी कृमिभिर्भक्ष्यमाण: etc.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, p. 48: धांगा दोसु न वइजला न वि सामन्तह भेउ etc.
[8] *DHNI.*, II, V. 1003.

cintāmaṇi. The same authority assigns him a reign of two years, beginning from V.E. 1233.[1] The *Vicāraśreṇi* styles him Laghu-Mūladeva and gives him a period of two years, one month and two days from V.E. 1232 to 1234.[2] The Muslim chronicles call him Lakhmul or Lakhu-Mūladeo and allot him 8 or 20 years.[3] This period, however, assigned to him is obviously wrong, for we know that his successor was on the throne before V.E. 1235.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that after the accession, his mother, the queen Naikī, the daughter of king Paramardin (1146–1174 A.D.), taking her son in her lap, fought at Gādarārghaṭṭa and conquered the king of *Mlecchas* by the aid of a mass or rain clouds that came out of season attracted by her virtue.[4] The two other Jain works the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*[5] and *Vasanta-vilāsa*[6] state that Mūladeva even in childhood defeated the Muhammadans. These early references show that he might have been of the age of 15 or 16 which is the age of minority to a king, that is why he has been called as a child (minor). The fact that the Muslims were defeated is also confirmed by the Muslim writer, Minhaj-us-Siyar, who writes that Mohammad led his army through Uccha and Multān towards Naharwālāh (Aṇahillapura). At that time the ruler of that place was a young king named Bhīmadeva who possessed a powerful army and numerous elephants. In the battle Mohammadans were defeated in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178).[7] The *Tavārikha-i-Firistā* also records that Muhammad Ghori from Multān went to the sandy desert of Gujarāta. Prince Bhīmadeva came to encounter him with a strong garrison and destroying the Muslims pushed them back.[8]

In the above descriptions of the Muslims it seems that the name of Bhīmadava has mistakenly crept in in place of Mūlarāja. The reason for this might have been that after this war, the sudden death of Mūlarāja placed his younger brother Bhīmadeva (II) on the throne and thus by mistake the credit has been given to him. The fact that the battle was fought by Mūladeva is also confirmed by the Pāṭan grant of Bhīmadeva

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p 97: सं० १२३३ पूर्व वर्ष २ वालमूलराजेन राज्यं कृतम्।

[2] *JSS*, II, Pt. IV, p. 9: ततस्तदैव उपविष्ट लघुमूलराजस्य सं० १२३४ चैत्रसुदि १४ निरुद्धं राज्यं वर्ष २ मास १ दिन २।

[3] *AAK.*, II, p. 260.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97: अस्य मात्रा नइकिदेव्या परमर्दिभूपतिसुतयोत्संगे शिशुं सुतं निधाय गाडरारघट्टनामनि घाटे संग्रामं कुर्वत्या म्लेच्छराजा etc.

[5] Canto II, V. 46: मूलराजः। तुरुष्कशीर्षाणि शिशुर्जयश्रीलताफलानीव लसन्नगृह्णात्।

[6] Canto III, V. 34: श्रीमूलराजः शिशुनापि येन म्लेच्छाधिपोऽकल्प्यत पांशुकल्पः।

[7] Elliot, II, p. 294.

[8] Brig's Firista, I, p. 170.

dated V.E. 1256 (1199 A.D.) which refers to Mūlarājadeva who defeated unconquerable *Garjanaka* (a mere saṁskritisation of the Ghaznavi) in the battle.[1] A Jain authority, known as the Sundhā hill inscription, also refers to a battle which was fought by the Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa (V.E. 1221–1249) with the *Turuṣkas* (Muslims), whom his brother Kīrtipāla defeated at Kāsahṛda.[2] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly conjectures that Kelhaṇa might have assisted Mūlarāja (II) in the war with the Muslims, being a feudatory chief of the Caulukya sovereign. There is also reason to believe this statement, for during that period only one invasion of Muslims had taken place.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that the mother of Mūlarāja was the daughter of Paramardin. This Paramardin has been rightly identified with the Kadamba ruler Paramardi or Śivacita who ruled from *c.* 1146 to 1174 A.D.[3] The same authority states that this war was fought at the Gāḍarāraghaṭa[4] and the Sundhā inscription records that it was Kāsahṛda. This Kāsahṛda, however, may be identified with the Kāyandra situated at the foot of Mt. Ābu. It may be possible that the Gāḍarāraghaṭa was the other name of that place.[5]

The defeat of the Muslims in this way shows that the Caulukya empire might have been so much consolidated and knit together from the time of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha to that of Mūlarāja that even in the period of weak and rapid successions, the *sāmantas* did not shake off their loyalty to their sovereign; that is why a minor king like Mūlarāja II could secure the help from Kelhaṇa.

Bhima II (*c.* 1178–1221 A.D.): The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* informs us that after Mūlarāja (II) Bhīmadeva ascended the throne. He was his brother (*bandhu*)[6]. The *Kīrti-kaumudī* further adds that he was his younger brother and came on the throne when he was a mere child.[7] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* records that he mounted the throne in V.E. 1235 and ruled for 63 years.[8] But according to the *Vicāraśreṇi* Mūlarāja died in V.E. 1234 and immediately after him, Bhīmadeva came to the throne and ruled till

[1] *IA.*, XI, pp. 71–73: आह्वरगाभूत दुर्जय गर्जनकाधिराज श्रीमूलराजदेवः ।

[2] *EI.*, IX, p. 70: तस्मिन् कासहृदे तुरुष्कनिकरं जित्वा रणप्रांगणे ।

[3] *BG.*, Pt. I, p. 195, Appendix II.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97.

[5] *GMRI.*, II, pp. 381–82.

[6] Canto II, V. 48: श्रीभीमदेवोऽस्ति निरस्तमोग्र.... वेलामिलन्मौक्तिकमस्य बंधुः ।

[7] Canto II, V. 59.

[8] *SJGM.*, I, 97: १२३५ पूर्वं वर्षं ६३ श्रीभीमदेवेन राज्यं कृतम् ।

V.E. 1300.[1] The Kirāḍu stone inscription, dated V.E. 1235, shows that he was already on the throne before that date.[2] It appears, therefore, that the statement of the *Vicāraśreṇi* is more reliable in this respect. The latest date for his reign, from the Jain colophons[3] as well as the Kādi inscription, is known as V.E. 1296 (*c.* 1238 A.D.).[4] Thus the literary and epigraphic evidences agree in assigning Bhīma a long reign.

When Bhīma II came to the throne the political condition of India was somewhat changed. The Muslim invasions had become the order of the day. The Muslims had already occupied some of the principalities inside India. No central power at that time existed to encounter their invasions. Several feudal lords were exerting for their independence. Weak rulers of Mālava mounted and dismounted the throne in rapid succession. In the Sapādalakṣa country (Ajmera) ruled Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja but he was too busy in wars with the Muslim as well as the other neighbouring kings like the Candellas and the Gāhaḍavālas.Th e Candellas and the Gāhaḍavālas were in a state of decadence. The power of Cedis was almost extinct. Moreover, Bhīma was a weak ruler and his feudal lords were trying to capture power though he long survived as the nominal head.

The Jain *prabandhas* have, unfortunately, preserved a very meagre account of his reign. We, however, have about a dozen colophons of the Jain MSS and three epigraphs from which we get an idea of his long reign.

From the time of his accession up to V.E. 1246 (A.D. 1190) the Jain sources give no information about his reign. We know from Muslim sources (perhaps isolated ones that at first Muhammad Ghuri was defeated in the battle of Gujarāt, but aftertwo years he invaded the country and punished the people. This, according to Jackson, is simply a way of the glorification of Muhammad Ghuri by a Muslim writer, for we have no further proof in support of this statement.[5] A Jain *praśasti* of the *Paryūṣaṇā-kalpa*,[6] dated V.E. 1147, refers to his certain peculiar titles such as *Jaṅgamajanārdana*, *Pratāpa-caturbhuja* with *Samastarājāvalīvirajita* and *Umāpativaralabdhaprasāda*. It also states that at that time Laṭa was under his prosperous rule, where Śobhanadeva was his *daṇḍanāyaka* and Ratnasimha was transacting the business of seal. Another Jain *praśasti* of *Yogaśāstra-vṛtti*, dated V.E. 1251

[1] *JSS.*, II, Pt. IV, p. 9: ततस्तदैव उपविष्ट श्रीभीमदेव राज्यम्। ततः श्रीवीरधवलबन्धु श्रीवीसलदेव ....

[2] *EI.*, XI, p. 72.

[3] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 121–122.

[4] Kadi grant (VI), *IA.*, VI, pp. 206–08.

[5] *BG.*, I, Pt. I, p. 195, fn. 4.

[6] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 112.

states that the composition was completed in Darbhavatī (modern Dabhoi) in the Lāṭa country.[1] A third *praśasti* of *Ṣaḍaśītiprakaraṇa-vṛtti*, dated V.E. 1258, relates that this work was written in Aṇahillapura in the reign of *Samastarājāvalīvirājita M. R.* Bhīmadeva.[2] The *praśasti* of V.E. 1247 noted above along with the other two *praśastis* shows that Bhīma (II) must have become a strong and powerful ruler by that time and he must have been enjoying all the prestige and powers of his forefathers like Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla.

By the year V.E. 1254, A.H. 593 (A.D. 1197), it is recorded by the Muslim historians that Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the great general of Muhammad Ghuri, invaded the city of Aṇahilavāḍa. This war lasted for full three years, at last, Aibak occupied Pāṭan and plundered the wealth of Gujarat.[3] We, however, have no direct evidence of this disastrous war among the Jain sources. On the other hand, we have two *praśastis* of Jain composition written at Aṇahillapura some years after this event. The *praśasti* of the *Ṣaḍaśīti-prakaraṇa*, dated V.E. 1258 (referred to above), gives him full sovereign titles '*Samastarājāvalīvirājita Mahārājādhirāja*' (adorned with the row of all kings, the king-emperor). The other one from *Jayantī-vṛtti*, dated V.E. 1261, and written at Aṇahillapura in the prosperous reign of Bhīmadeva (*Kalyāṇavijayarājye*) records him as *Mahārājādhirāja*.[4] From these *praśastis* it may be concluded that he was enjoying full sovereignty although he suffered a setback at the hands of foreigners. It, therefore, seems that, had the invasions of Muslims been felt much, they would have been mentioned in the Jain *praśastis* written during the subsequent period.

After V.E. 1261 (A.D. 1204) we have no Jain *praśastis* from V.E. 1262 to 1294 (A.D. 1205–1237). The *praśasti* of the *Jñātadharmakathāṅga-vṛtti*, dated in the beginning of V.E. 1295,[5] attributes him simple title '*Mahārāja*' and states that the composition was finished in Aṇahillapāṭaka in the prosperous reign of Bhīmadeva. During this long period of 33 years it appears that Bhīma might have been reduced to an insignificant position and Aṇahilapāṭan might have been an unsafe place for the Jain monks to reside. That is why, perhaps, we do not find any work composed at Aṇahilapāṭan during this period which was otherwise enriched by the literary productions of the Jains.

Fortunately, the Jains also record certain events of this period. They

[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 223.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Elliot, II, pp. 226–31.
[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 224.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

mention the two invasions on Gujarāta made by the Mālava kings of that time. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states:

> 'While he (Bhīma) was reigning, the king of Mālava named Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarāta, with intention of devastating that country, but the minister of Bhīmadeva went to meet him and addressed this couplet to him:
>
> " Thy blaze of might, O sun of kings,
> gleams in the eastern quarter,
> But it will be extinguished, when thou shalt
> descend into the western region."
>
> When Sohaḍa heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister he turned back again '.[1]

It seems from the narration that in this invasion Subhaṭavarman could not fulfil his desire of subduing Gujarāta and "subsequently his son named the glorious Arjunadeva, quite defeated the realm of Gujarāta" as mentioned by the same authority.[2]

Let us now decide when the series of these invasions took place. Although we have no direct information of the first war, still we may conjecture that the invasion would have occurred some years before V.E. 1267 (*c.* 1210 A.D.) which is the early known date of the accession of Arjunavarma from his copper plates.[3] As regards the second invasion we have the *Pārijāta-mañjarī* of Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarma himself. It is a drama which deals with the love-affairs of Arjunavarma with Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī, the daughter of Gurjara king Jayasiṁha, who fell into Arjuna's hands after her father's defeat. There Jayasiṁha is referred to as *Caulukya-mahī-mahendra*. According to historians this Jayasiṁha is most probably identical with the king of the same name who temporarily had usurped the throne of Bhīma (II). From the narrative of the *Pārijātamañjarī* it appears that Jayasiṁha might properly have been installed as the king of Gujarāta by the year 1210 A.D. and he was on the throne of Aṇahilapātana upto V.E 1280 (A.D. 1223) for the Kādı grants of his reign, dated V.E. 1280 (*c.* 1223 A.D.) have peen discovered.[4] This war wirh Arjunavarma must have happened before V.E. 1275 (A.D. 1218) which is the earliest date of

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97: अस्मिन् राजनि राज्यं कुर्वाणे श्रीसोहडनामा मालवभूपति गुर्जरदेशत्रिध्वंसनाय सीमामागतः . . . . इति विरुद्धामुपश्रुतिं तद्गिरमाकर्ण्य स पश्चान्निववृते।

[2] *Ibid.*: तदनु तेन तत्पुत्रेण श्रीमदर्जुनदेवनाम्ना गूर्जरदेशभंगोऽकारि।

[3] See *supra* pp. 115–116, Chapter on Paramāra of Mālava; see also *JASB.*, V, p. 378.

[4] *IA*, VI, p. 196; *GHI.*, Pt. II, No. 165.

Devapāla, the successor of Arjunavarma.[1] Fortunately, we have a definite proof of this invasion in the *Śrīdhara-praśasti* dated V.E. 1273 (A.D. 1216) which states that Śrīdhara the Nāgara general of Bhīma, protected Devapāṭana (in Saurāṣṭra) from the elephant army of Mālava.[2] This shows that before V.E. 1273 (A.D. 1216) Arjunavarman, the ruling prince of Mālava, penetrated into Gujarāta upto Saurāṣṭra. Jayasiṁha, the then ruler of Aṇahilapāṭana, might have been defeated near Parvaparvata (modern Pavāgaḍh) as stated in the drama *Pārijātamañjari*. From these two references we may assume that this invasion must have been made sometime before V.E. 1273 (A.D. 1216). The matrimonial alliance with the king of Mālava, *i.e.*, Arjunavarman, made the position of Jayasiṁha somewhat strong and Bhīma was reduced to become ordinary ruler of Saurāṣṭra. According to the *Hammira-mada-mardana*, Bhīmasiṁha was the *Sāmantamaṇi* of Saurāṣṭra.[3] The Bhīmasiṁha has been identified with Bhīma II, the Caulukya, who might have been residing in Saurāṣṭra during the period of his rainy-days.[4]

Unfortunately, we have no information regarding Jayasiṁha in the Jain sources but the conditions of that time as depicted in the *Vasanta-vilāsa* and the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* throws some light on the point. The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* states that Bhīma II was very charitable and extravagant. His kingdom was being devoured by his powerful *maṇḍalikas* whom he was unable to control. Bhīma was thus filled with anxiety about the fate of his kingdom.[5] Similarly, the *Vasanta-vilāsa* relates that Bīma was unable to control his kingdom on account of his weakness and his *maṇḍalikas* (feudatories) began to rule over the country. Arṇoraja, son of Dhavala of the Caulukya race, sticking to the king's side annihilated the refractory chiefs and protected the kingdom.[6] The Kaḍi grant of Bhīma dated V.E. 1283 (A.D. 1226) shows that Bhīma had won back his throne at Aṇahilapāṭaka sometime before that year.[7] Since we have no published Jain *praśasti* of this period we cannot furnish a definite proof for this from the Jain MS. referred to above that by the year V.E. 1225 he was again ruling over Aṇahillapāṭaka as bearing ordinary title *Mahārāja*. The two other *Upadeśakandali-vṛtti* and

[1] *See supra* p. .

[2] *EI.*, II, p. 437, V. 42.

[3] *H.M.M.* (*GOS.*, X), p. 11: [illegible] ।

[4] *The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa*, III, p. 213.

[5] Canto II, V. 51: [illegible] ।
[illegible] ।

[6] Canto III, V. 37: [illegible] . . . [illegible] ।

[7] *IA.*, VI, pp. 193–200.

Saṅgrahaṇi-ṭikā, both dated V.E. 1296, bear witness that Bhīma had again become, a sovereign ruler, though for a short period, assuming the grandiloquent title '*Samastarājāvalīsamalaṅkrta Mahārājādhirāja*.'[1]

We have fortunately three Jain inscriptions of his reign. The Girnar inscription of V.E. 1256 was found engraved on both sides of a niche containing the image of Nandīśvara to the north-west of the temple of Sangrāma Soni. This epigraph records that the son of the general (*daṇḍanāyaka*) of the Caulukya king Kumārapāla, named Abhayad, was very much devoted to the Jain religion. His son Vasnatapāla for the merits of his parents caused to be made an image of Nandīśvara on the Ujjayanta hill, consecrated by Devendrasūri, disciple of Jineśvara, disciple of Candrasūri. It is to be noted that though the inscription is dated V.E. 1256, *i.e.*, in the reign of Bhīma II, his name is not given in the inscription.[2]

Another inscription from Somanātha of the year 125 (x) contains the description of the capital Aṇahillapāṭaka growing rich under its famous sovereigns. In the 4th line king Mūlarāja is mentioned and then without mentioning the intervening rulers the records switch on in the 6th line to the king Bhīma II to whose reign the record belongs. Nothing is particularly mentioned about his reign in this inscription.[3]

The third inscription of 1287 has been found engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridors of the shrine of Neminātha on Mt. Ābu which is generally known as the temple of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. It mentions two of the feudatories of his reign. One was *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājakula* Somasiṁha of the Paramāra family of Ābu. It is said that while Somasiṁha was reigning Tejaḥpāla got built in the village Deulavāḍa on the top of Mt. Arbuda, the temple of the holy Neminātha, called Lūṇasiṁha Vasahikā, for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamādevī, and his son Lūṇasiṁha. Another feudatory is mentioned there by name *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala of the Caulukya *kula*, who obtained *Gurjaratrāmaṇḍala* by the favour of the aforesaid M. Bhīmadeva. Tejaḥpāla is said there as conducting the whole business of the seal of Vīradhavala.[4]

Besides these inscriptions there are so many Jain inscriptions of the

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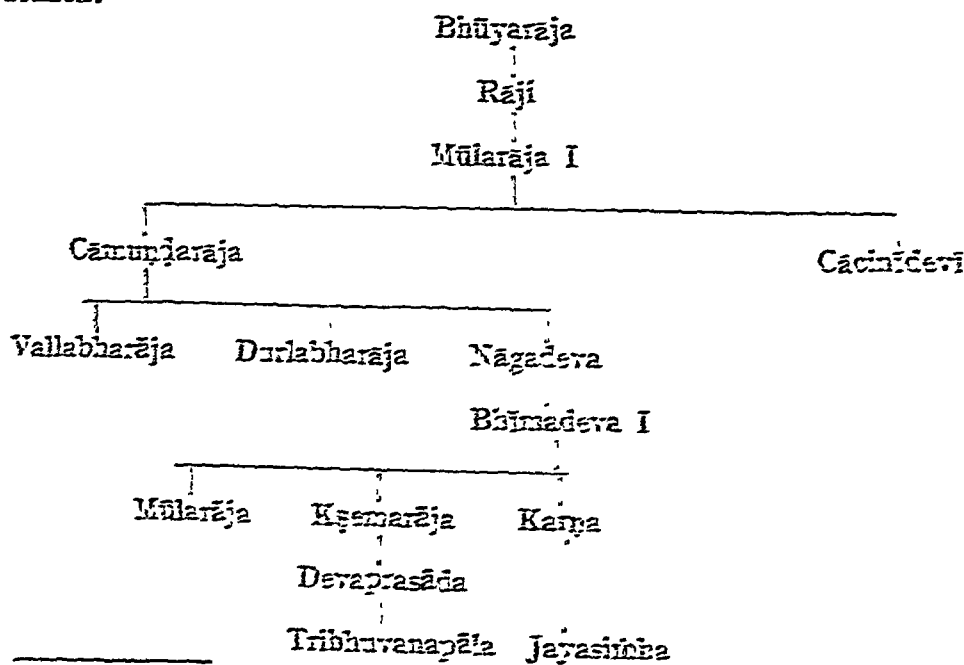
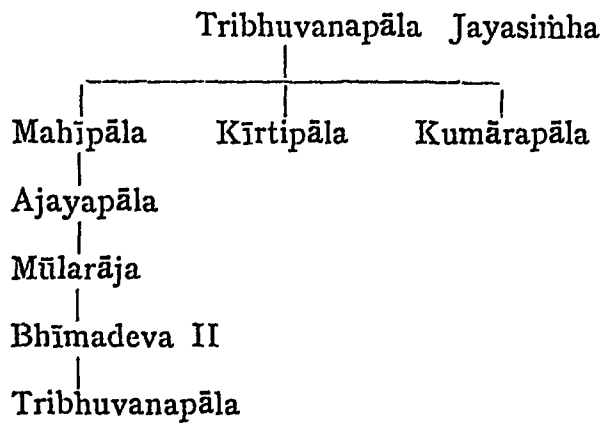
[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 121–122.
[2] *Poona Orientalist*, I, No. 4, p. 45.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, No. 4, p. 122.
[4] *EI.*, VIII, pp. 204–07 and 219–22.

reign of Bhīma II, but they practically belong to ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.

All these Jain inscriptions and the colophons noted above certainly furnish some information about Bhīma's ministers, generals and feudatories. The colophon of V.E. 1247 of Jain MS refers to Sobhanadeva as the general (*daṇḍanāyaka*) and Ratnasiṁha as the *mahattama*.[1] The inscription of V.E. 1256 records Abhayaḍa and Vasantapāla as the son and the grandson respectively of the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Kumārapāla. The Ābu inscription of V.E. 1267 mentions that Somasiṁha of the Paramāra family of Ābu and Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala were the feudatories of Bhīma. One colophon of V.E. 1295 records that Vīramadeva was the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* in Vidyutpura in the reign of Bhīma.[2] This Vīramadeva has been taken as identical with the son of Lavaṇaprasāda noted above. Another colophon of V.E. 1296 refers to one *mahāmātya* and *daṇḍanāyaka* Śrītāta, in charge of the seal and insignia.[3] The Uncha inscription of Ajayapāla (V.E. 1231) also mentions this Tāta as *daṇḍanāyaka*.[4] It seems that by that time when the colophon was written he must have been very old.

Thus we know from the Jain sources the following members of this branch:

[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 222.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[4] *HIG.*, III, No. 157 a.

Tribhuvanapāla Jayasiṁha
Mahīpāla
Kīrtipāla
Kumārapāla
Ajayapāla
Mūlarāja
Bhīmadeva II
Tribhuvanapāla

CHAPTER X

DYNASTIES OF SAURĀṢṬRA (Continued)

III. THE VAGHELA BRANCH OF THE CAULUKYAS

We have copious material for this branch in our Jain sources. The Jains have overlooked the long reign of Bhima II in favour of this branch. The reason for this may be attributed to the fact that in them they had found better patrons of their religion, literature and society.

Early History: The early history of the Vaghela branch starts from a certain Dhavala who was the husband of Kumārapāla's mother's sister and belonged to the Caulukya clan.[1] From them was born a son named Arṇorāja who was popularly known as Ānaka also. According to *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana,* Kumārapāla, pleased with his services, made him his feudatory lord and gave him the town of Bhīmapallī (about ten miles S.W. of Aṇahilapura) to rule.[2] The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* also supports this statement.[3] The same authority refers to the fact that Arṇorāja killed the chiefs of Medapāta and Candrāvatīpura.[4] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* records the name of the village given to Arṇorāja as Vyāghrapallī whence his descendants received the epithet of the Vaghelas.[5] It appears from the Jain chronicles that Āṇaka enjoyed a long vassalage of the Caulukyas from Kumārapāla to Bhīma (II). The *Vasanta-vilāsa* states that Bhīma II was unable to control his kingdom on account of his weakness and his *maṇḍalikas* (feudatories) began to rule over the country. Arṇorāja, sticking to the king's side, annihilated them and protected the kingdom.[6] This Arṇorāja or Āṇaka is quite different from Arṇorāja or Āṇṇa, the ruler of Śākambharī. His son was Lavaṇa-

[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 94: आनाकनाम मातृस्वस्रीयः ।
SS. Canto III, V. 15: [illegible] श्रीधवलांगजः । [illegible] ।

[2] *SS.*, Canto III, V. 18: [illegible] ।
[illegible] ॥

[3] *GOS.*, X, p. 78, V. 74.

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 75: [illegible] etc.

[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 98: [illegible] ।

[6] Canto III, Vs. 37–38: [illegible] ।
....
....
[illegible] ॥

prasāda.[1] The *Sukṛta-saṁkirtana* states that once Kumārapāla appeared in a dream to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint Lavanaprasāda as *Sarveśvara* (vice-regent) and his son Vīradhavala as his heir-apparent:

> 'Next day in the court in the presence of the nobles when Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala entered, the king said to Lavaṇaprasāda: "Your father Arṇorāja seated me on the throne. You should, therefore, uphold my power as *Sarveśvara*, and your son Vīradhavala as my heir-apparent."[2]

The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* mentions that Bhīma II, considering that Arṇorāja once was an object of Kumārapāla's favour and that he made him king, entrusted his kingdom to his son Lavanaprasāda.[3]

The fact that Lavanaprasāda was *Sarveśvara* of Bhīma is confirmed by the Girnāra inscription of V.E. 1288 found over the west doors of the temple of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. As to when he was raised to that high post we have definite information from that inscription. It refers to the fact that in V.E. 1276 Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were appointed with the power of *Sarveśvara* to carry on the business of the seal in Dhavalakka and other cities in the Gurjara-maṇḍala by the *Mahārāja* Śrī Vīradhavala, son of (*Caulukya-kula-prakāśanaika-mārtaṇḍa*) *Mahārājādhirāja* Lavaṇaprasāda.[4]

This shows that before V.E. 1276 Lavanaprasāda must have been appointed as *Sarveśvara*. Buhler infers, however, from the title *Sarveśvara* that Lavaṇaprasāda and his son might have thrown away the suzerainty of Bhīma in that year and assumed that title.[5] But this assumption does not seem probable for we know from a Jain inscription of V.E. 1287 noted above that Lavanaprasāda was simply a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Rāṇaka* at that time. The same inscription also confers the same title on his son Vīradhavala.[6] Moreover, the colophon of the Jain MS *Vyākaraṇa-ṭippanakaṁ* of

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[1] *SJGM.*, I, p. 98: श्रीमदानाकनन्दन: श्रीलवणप्रसादश्चिरं राज्यं चकार।

[2] Canto III, Vs. 15–39: गृहाण विग्रहोदग्र सर्वेश्वरपदं मम।
युवराजोऽस्तु मे वीरधवलो धवलो गुणैः॥

[3] *GOS.*, X, p. 78, V. 24: कुमारपालधरणीपाल प्रसादास्पदं।
अर्णोराज न्यधत्त नृपतिं मामेतदीय: पिता।
मत्वैवं लवणप्रसादनृपतौ क्ष्माभारमेव व्यधात।

[4] *HIG*, Pt. III, No. 207, pp. 14–16: प्रीतिप्रतिपन्नराजसर्वेश्वर्येण etc.

[5] *IA.*, XXXI (1902), pp. 477–495.

[6] *EI.*, VIII, p. 204 ff.

V.E. 1288 mentions him simply *Rāṇaka*.[1] And the two other colophons of the Jain MSS, dated V.E. 1276 and 1293, state that his second son Vīrama and his grandson Vīsaladeva, were called *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Mahā-Raṇaka*.[2] This shows that this line of Vaghelas, most probably, could not throw the suzerainty of Bhīma II upto V.E. 1293 as attested by the Jain sources. The peculiar title '*Sarveśvara*' suggests that Lavanaprasāda might have been holding a post like the Peśavas in the time of the Marāṭhās.[3]

As to how and in what circumstances the title was conferred we do not know. The prabandha literature, however, records several events of the time of Bhīma in which Lavaṇaprasāda and his son had shown their bravery and skill in saving the kingdom of Bhīma. Perhaps, as a reward for these services, Bhīma might have conferred on him the title '*Sarveśvara.*'

By V.E. 1276 Lavaṇaprasāda seems to have approached the age of 70, for we know from the Udaypur inscription of Ajayapāla dated V.E. 1229 that he was appointed there as an officer by Ajayapāla.[4] At that time he must have been at least some 20 or 22 years old and as a promising man he must have obtained that post at an early age. We may place his birth, therefore, in V.E. 1209 or 1207. He lived long for we have the year V.E. 1288 as one of his dates from a colophon of the Jain MS noted above. He perhaps lived longer, at least till V.E. 1295 or 1300. The events described in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* and other prabandhas reveal that he enjoyed a life of nearly ninety years or more.

We have already seen that Arṇorāja, the father of Lavaṇaprasāda, assisted Bhīma II in subduing the enemies which he did perhaps, in the early part of his reign. Lavaṇaprasāda also followed the footsteps of his father. At the time of the accession of Bhīma in V.E. 1234 both the father and the son were simply feudatories of Vyāghrapallī or Bhīmapallī. But due to their constant services to Bhīma their status was raised. Lavaṇaprāsada, by V.E. 1276, actually became *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, having established his principality around Dhavalakka (modern Dholka) which stretched upto Cambay between the Śāvaramatī and the Narmadā. The city of Dhavalakka was founded after the name of Dhavala, the grandfather of Lavaṇaprasāda.

There is an interesting story in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* which

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[1] *Praśasti-saṁgraha* (Ahmedabad), p. 85, No. 144.
[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 122–123.
[3] *GMRI.* (Guj.), p. 367.
[4] *HIG.*, Pt. II, No. 156, pp. 69–72.

throws light on the early relationship of Lavaṇaprasāda and his father with Bhīma II.

> It narrates that once *Rāṇaka* Āṇaka of Vyāghrapallī having been insulted by Bhīma went to the frontier. He was called again respectfully but he refused to come back by saying that as he had lost his kingdom, what he would do by turning back. He would remain as an ordinary footman and spend his life by *olagā* (begging). His son Lūnapasā (Lavaṇaprasāda) used to carry water in the leather vassals. Lūnapasā had two wives and from them two sons by name Vīrama and Vīradhavala. He ousted the mother of Vīrama with the son. She was held by Tribhuvanasiṁha of Mahta village. Lavaṇaprasāda once in the evening went to kill Tribhuvanasiṁha in his house. He, at that time, was being served for his evening meal when he asked his new wife to call Vīrama without whom he could not take the meal. Lavaṇaprasāda thought that though he has held his wife he loved his son so much that he could not kill him. Soon after this thought came to his mind, he appeared before him (Tribhuvanasiṁha). After the acquaintance they became friends. Tribhuvanasiṁha feasted him and offered clothes. After some time Bhīma raised Lavaṇaprasāda to the post of Rāṇaka and he began to look after the affairs of the government. The king, however, became unnerved when Lavaṇaprasāda established the full control over the kingdom and after the death of Bhīma he became king.[1]

This story certainly reveals certain realistic facts for which, unfortunately, we have no contemporary evidences. It relates that due to unknown reasons the relationship between Bhīma and Āṇaka deteriorated which made the early life of Lavaṇaprasāda miserable. At the time of the accession of Bhīma Lavaṇaprasāda might have been more than 25 years old. From the story related above and from a story recorded in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*,[2] it appears that his wife, in that miserable condition, fled away from Lavaṇaprasāda and was held up by others. At that time Lavaṇaprasāda had a son by name Vīrama from his wife. The *Prabandha-*

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[1] *SJGM.*, II, p. 54: इतो व्याघ्रपल्लीयो राणक आनाको भीमेनापमानितो देशसीमनि गतः परिग्रहेणाकारितो नायाति। राज्यं विनष्टं आगत्य किं करोमि .... इतः स क्रमेण भीमदेवेन राणकः कृतः स राज्यचिन्तां कर्तुं प्रवृत्तः। नृपस्तु स्वयं विकलः अथ लवणप्रसादेन राज्यमात्मायत्तं कृतम् इतो राज्ञि दिवं गते स एवाधिपो जातः। वीरमः स्वसमीपमानीतः etc.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 98: तत्सुतः साम्राज्यभारधवलः श्रीवीरधवलः। तन्माता मदनराज्ञी देवराजनाम्नो भगिनीपतेः पट्टकिलस्य भगिन्यां विपन्नायां .... शिशुना वीरधवलेन समं तत्र गता सती तेन गृहिणी चक्रे। etc.

cintāmaṇi states that through his wife, Madanarājñī, he had a son named Vīradhavala. It is stated there that when Vīradhavala developed some intellect, he grew ashamed of his mother's character and leaving her he joined his father Lavaṇaprasāda.[1] From this event we may assume that by V.E. 1234 Vīradhavala must have been born and might have been 3 or 4 years old. He might have left his mother at the age of some consciousness, say, at the age of 8 or 10 years, which means in about V.E. 1240. Thus we may put his birth in V.E. 1230 or some time before or after it. This also would signify that he was born to Lavaṇaprasāda at the age of about 21 or 23, which is not unlikely.

The fact that Lavaṇaprasāda was reduced to insignificance may be confirmed by the silence maintained by epigraphical as well as colophonic evidences from V.E. 1276.

The inscription from Girnāra of V.E. 1288, however, breaks the silence and styles Vīradhavala as *Mahārāja* and Lavaṇaprasāda as *Mahārājādhirāja*.[2] They appointed Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla as their ministers in V.E. 1276. At that time Vīradhavala might have been about 45 years old and his father Lavaṇaprasāda more than 65 years old.

We know from other sources that during this period the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka was usurped by Jayasiṁha and the condition of Bhīma became precarious.[3] His feudatories were everywhere trying to overthrow his suzerainty. He turned to wise and elderly Lavaṇaprasāda and made him *Sarveśvara* (vice-regent) to regain the last splendour of the kingdom of Gujarāta. Thus Bhīma remained the nominal head of the state but real rulers of Gujarāta were father and son—Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala. They, however, were faithful to the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka and neither usurped the throne nor styled themselves as *Mahārājādhirāja*. They, however, remained content with their title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.

Lavaṇaprasāda seems to have remained at the court and was all-powerful there while his son Vīradhavala freely ruled at Dholka. Gujarāta had more or less triumphed by the valour of Vīradhavala, the loyalty of Lavaṇaprasāda and the statesmanship of Vastupāla.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 98: अथ स वीरधवळ क्षत्रियः उन्मीलितकिंचिच्चेतनस्तस्मान्मातृवृत्तान्तात्त्रपमाणस्तद्गृहं त्यक्त्वा निजमेव जनकं सिषेवे।

[2] *HIG.*, Pt. III, No. 207, pp. 14–18.

This is the only instance where they were styled by such title. The purpose seems to be to honorify them or to praise them.

[3] See *supra* p. 293.

[4] K. M. Munshi, *The Glory That Was Gurjaradesa*, III, p. 217.

Appointment of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla: Before we deal with the political achievements of the reign let us say something about the appointment of the two ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who were the real architects of the Dholka kingdom. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* states that once the Rājalakṣmī appeared to Vīradhavala in a dream and asked him to appoint the two brothers of Prāgvāta family as his *Mantriyugma*.[1] The *Kīrti-kaumudi* and the *Prabandha-cintāmani* state that Vīradhavala requested them to take the charge of premiership. The two brothers came to Dholka and were appointed by Vīradhavala.[2] Some of the Jain writers, however, do not agree to this point. The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, the *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* and the *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti* inform us that the two brothers were already in the service of Bhīma and that he had given them to Vīradhavala at his request.[3] Vastupāla in his work *Naranārāyaṇānanda* states that he accepted the dependence of Bhīma's minister, which supports the latter view.[4] Vastupāla was in charge of the administration of the whole state.[5]

Achievements of father and son: Various struggles made by Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala show that they came into conflict mostly with the neighbouring feudatories of Bhima, who were creating disorder and chaos. The Dabhoi praśasti of V.E. 1311 informs us that Lavanaprasāda came into conflict with a strong enemy near Vaḍavana.[6] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that this struggle was with Śobhanadeva, the father-in-law of Vīradhavala. He was on one side and Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala were on the other side. In this battle Vīradhavala was fatally wounded. This battle is called the battle of Pañcagrāma[7] The *Prabandha-kośa* says that Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala with the minister Vastupāla went to Vamanasthali, punishing in the way the lords of Vardhamānapura and Gohilavati. They fought there with Vīradhavala's two brothers-in-law, Sāngaṇa and Cāmuṇḍa. In this war Vīradhavala killed his brothers-in-law

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[1] *GOS.*, VII, Canto III, Vs. 51–65.

[2] Canto III, Vs. 51–78; *SJGM.*, I, pp. 98–99.

[3] Canto III, Vs. 57–60: तुभ्यं समर्पयिष्यामि मंत्रिणौ तौ तु .... ।
GOS., X, p. 83, V. 119: अनयोरनयोज्झितयोर्धरणिधवं व्यधितधरणिधवः ।
Appendix, p. 63, V. 51 · इत्युक्त्वा प्रीतिपूर्णाय श्रीवीरधवलाय तौ ।
श्रीभीमभुजा दत्तौ वित्तमात्ममिवात्मनः ॥

[4] *GOS.*, Canto XVI, V. 35: यो गुर्जरावनि महीपति भीमभूपमन्त्रीन्द्रतापरवशत्वमपि प्रपेदे ।

[5] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction, p. xv.

[6] *EI.*, I, p. 26, V. 13.

[7] *SJGM.*, I, p. 104: अन्यदा पञ्चग्राम संग्रामाधिरूढयोः ....

and looted their property in cash and kind.[1] In both the prabandha works it is stated that Vīradhavala's queen Jayataladevī went to advocate the cause of her husband before her father and brothers but she failed in her efforts.

The *Prabandha-kośa* records another war with the Pratīhāra Bhīmasimha of Bhadreśvara. Vīradhavala first made peace with Bhadreśvara and later on when opportunity came he extirpated Bhīmasiṁha.[2]

Whatever be the truth behind these stories, the fact that Lavaṇaprasāda held his sway over Saurāṣtra is proved by the Girnar inscription of V.E. 1288 (1231 A.D.).[3] The battle with Bhīmasiṁha and with the ruler of Pañcagrāma is also supported by Jayasiṁhasūri in his *Hammīra-mada-mardana*.[4] The Dabhoi inscription of V.E. 1311 mentioned above supports the war of Vaḍavana.[5]

It is difficult to date the wars of Saurāṣṭra but it may safely be surmised that they must have occurred after the appointment of Vastupāla in V.E. 1276 (1220 A.D.) and before Vastupāla's pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya at Girnāra in V.E. 1277 (1221 A.D.)[6]

In the same year it appears that Vīradhvala invaded Cambay also and defeated its chief, the Cāhamāna prince, Saṅgrāmasiṁha or Śaṅkha. It is said that the Yādava king of Devagiri invaded Lāṭa and reached the northern banks of the Narmadā, but Śaṅkha drove him back with the timely help of Devapāla the king of Mālava (1218 A.D.). Next year, the Yādava king again invaded Lāṭa. The brave Śaṅkha was taken prisoner and brought to Devagiri. But he acquired influence over the Yādava king and a treaty was signed between the two and Devapāla. Śaṅkha was restored to his kingdom. It was during the temporary absence of Śaṅkha that Vīradhavala captured Cambay and put there Vastupāla as its governor.[7]

The *Vasanta-vilāsa* also records a battle with the king of Mārwar in which Lavaṇaprasāda was accompanied by Vīradhavala.[8] The *Kīrti-kaumudi* supports this statement and states that the battle was fought with the four kings of Mārwar. Lavaṇaprasāda, however, entered into a treaty with

[1] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 103–104.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 104–106.
[3] *HIG.*, Pt. III, p. 14 ff.
[4] *GOS.*, X, Act I, p. 7 and Act II, p. 11.
[5] *EI.*, I, p. 26, V. 13.
[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 100 : अथ सं० १२७७ वर्षे महामात्य श्रीवस्तुपालेन महायात्रा प्रारंभे।
[7] See *infra*, the Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.
[8] *GOS.*, VII, Canto V, V. 15 : लवणप्रसादतनयस्य साकं मारवैः समसमृद्धिभिः।
तत्रवीरधवलोऽपि बलोपक्रान्तवैरिनिगमः स जगाम॥

these princes.[1] I have elsewhere shown that one of them was Jālor Cāhamāna Udayasiṁha who is credited in the Sundhā hill inscription to have remained unconquerable by Gurjara king.[2]

The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* refers to another conflict with Cāhamāna Śaṅkha who invaded Cambay, the territory occupied by Vīradhavala.[3] The *Vasanta-vilāsa* also states that when Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala were engaged with Yādava Siṁhaṇa and the Mārwar kings, Śaṅkha, taking advantage of this critical position, demanded the surrender of Cambay from Vastupāla. He threatened the minister and tempted him with bribes, but all his efforts proved of no avail. A fierce battle took place between Vastupāla and Śaṅkha, in which the latter suffered a crushing defeat.[4] The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* also supports this war[5]. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Prabandha-kośa* attribute some other causes of this war which I have described elsewhere.[6]

The *Prabandha-kośa* records yet another war of Vīradhavala with the feudatory of Godhrā. It refers to the name of this chief as Ghughula.[7] The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* mentions the name of this chief as Vikramāditya.[8] The *Kīrti-kaumudi*, a contemporary work, also supports this event.[9] According to the *Prabandha-kośa* this struggle was led by minister Tejaḥpāla.[10] Ghughula is stated to have looted the traders coming from Gujarāta. Tejaḥpāla captured him and took away his large property. We, however, have no support of this statement from any other sources.

Another important struggle with the Yādava king of Deccan is also recorded by the Jain chroniclers. It is stated that attracted by the internal mismanagement of Gurjara empire, the Yādava king ran over the territories of Gujarāta adjoining his countries and at the best could reach as far as Broach. The *Kīrti-kaumudi* records one attack of Siṁhaṇa as far as the banks of the Narmadā when Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala were engaged in putting down the rebellion of the Mārwar kings.[11] The *Hammīra-mada-*

[1] Canto IV, V. 55.
[2] *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77.
[3] *GOS.*, X, pp. 5–6 and 16.
[4] *GOS.*, VII, Canto V, Vs. 16–109.
[5] *Ibid.*, X, p. 86. Vs. 138–140.
[6] See *infra*, the Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.
[7] *SJGM.*, IV, p. 107.
[8] *GOS.*, X, Act II, p. 11.
[9] Canto V, V. 257.
[10] *SJGM.*, IV, p. 107.
[11] Canto IV, V. 69.

mardana states that at that time he was invited by Śaṅkha.[1] The same drama relates another invasion of Siṁhaṇa as far as the banks of the Tapti, when Vīradhavala was engaged in repulsing an attack of the Mohammadans.[2] The *Vasanta-vilāsa,* besides the invasion mentioned by *Kirti-kaumudi,* refers to another invasion as far as Broach, when Śaṅkha was taken prisoner.[3] The *Lekhapancāśikā* of an unknown author gives an illustration of the form of a treaty or an alliance signed between Siṁhaṇa and Vīradhavala.[4]

For the struggle with the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa, we have confirmatory evidences also from the inscriptions of Yādava kings. According to the Amblem inscription, one of Siṁhaṇa's earlier expeditions||was led by his Brahmaṇa general Kholeśvara.[5] Fleet has suggested that the expedition took place in the time of Lavaṇaprasāda who was the chief-minister of Bhīma II. Siṁhaṇa was the king of Devagiri who ruled from A.D. 1210 to 1247.[6]

The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* states that Vīradhavala came into conflict with the *Mleccha Cakravartin.* Dhārāvarṣa the Paramāra of Ābu, Udayasiṁha, the Cāhamāna ruler of Jālor (1206–1249 A.D.), Somasiṁha, the son of Dhārāvarṣa (*c.* 1230–36), all these princes of Maru country and Bhīmasiṁha of Saurāṣṭra joined him against the Mlecchas.[7] The same authority records the fact that Jayatala (Jaitrasiṁha 1213–1252 A.D.), the lord of Medapāta, who in his pride had not joined Vīradhavala, was invaded by Hammīra. His capital, Nāgadraha (mod. Nāgḍa), was plundered and destroyed by the Turuṣkas. The people through terror preferred dying at their own hands. Some fell into wells, some set fire to their houses and burnt themselves, some hanged themselves, while others filled with anger fell on the enemy.[8] The approach of Vīradhavala and the intrigues of his spies at the end compelled the Muslim prince to flee away to Mathura.[9] Then Vīradhavaḷa returned to Dholkā, his heart filled with joy at the flight of the Turuṣkas, passing on his way back through Mt. Ābu, Candrāvati the capital of the Paramāra kings, the sacred river Sarasvatī, Anhilvād, the

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[1] *GOS.*, X, Act I, p. 5: समाकृष्टसिंहनसेनापतितते: ।

[2] *Ibid.*, Act II, pp. 14–15.

[3] *GOS.*, VII, Canto V, V. 42: निर्मदामकृतयादवसेनां बन्धनानि यदयं समवाप ।

[4] *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 52.

[5] *DHNI.*, II, pp. 1031–32.

[6] *BG.*, I, Pt. II, p. 525.

[7] *GOS.*, X, Act II, p. 21, V. 8: श्रीसोमसिंहोदयसिंहधारावर्षैरमीभिर्मरुदेशनाथै ।
दिशोऽष्टजेतुं स्फुटमष्टबाहुस्त्रिभिः समेतैरभवत्प्रभुर्नः ।।

[8] *Ibid.*, Act III, pp. 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 36, V. 3.

capital of Gurjara king and Karṇāvati on the Sābarmatī.[1] Vīradhavala gave the credit to his minister Vastupāla.

In the opinion of Pt. Gourisankar H. Ojha, for the most part, the above description is exaggerated.[2] But the fact that Jayatala came into conflict with Turks is proved by his two Jain inscriptions from Cirwā and Ghāghasā and by the Mt. Ābu inscription of Samarasiṁha. They record that Jaitrasiṁha defeated the Turks and saved Gujarāta from their attacks.[3]

The *Hammira-mada-mardana* speaks of one Milacchīkāra with whose army the soldiers of Vīradhavala fought.[4] Pt. Ojha has suggested that the name is the corruption of Amir-ī-Sikara, a title conferred by Qutb'ud-Din on Iltutmish whose time falls in V.E. 1266–1293 (1210–1236 A.D.).[5]

There is no direct reference to the time when the struggle occurred. But it seems that it must have been fought before V.E. 1286 (1229 A.D.), the date of the composition of the *Hammira-mada-mardana* and after V.E. 1279 (1222 A.D.), when Nāgadraha, the capital of Jayatala, was still undevastated by the enemy.[6]

The *Prabandha-kośa* states that Vastupāla defeated the army of Sultan Mozz'ud-Din.[7] I have elsewhere shown the possibility of this war.[8] The name of Mozz'ud-Din, however, does not seem probable in that period for his existence is proved between 1173–1206 A.D. when Vastupāla was not the minister of Vīradhavala.[9]

The Ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla : We have seen that these two brothers were appointed as ministers in V.E. 1276 by Vīradhavala. With their able guidance Vīradhavala fought several wars mentioned above.

The Jains have several inscriptions and literary compositions on the two ministers. According to them Vastupāla and his brother were born of a

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[1] *Ibid.*, Act V.

[2] *HI.*, Pt. I, p. 466.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 460.

[4] *GOS.*, X, Act IV, p. 35.

[5] *HI.*, p. 467.

[6] *GMRI.*, p. 381.

[7] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 117.

[8] See *supra* p. 164.

[9] *GMRI.*, p. 467. Certain scholars assume that the struggle with Muslims recorded by the *Prabandha-kośa* is most probably the same as mentioned in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* (*Vastupālano Vidyāmaṇḍala aṇe Bījo Lekha* (Guj.), pub. by the Jain Office, Bhavanagar).

high Jain family of Paṭṭana. Their great-grandfather, Caṇḍapa, is described as the son of the assembly of councillors and of fiery splendour. His son, Caṇḍaprasāda, was one of the ministers of Siddharāja. His son Soma was the officer in charge of the treasury of Siddharāja. His son Aśvarāja also held some position in the state and had the favour of the Caulukya king. He married Kumāradevī, daughter of Ābhū, who also held the high position of *Daṇḍanāyaka.*[1] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that Kumāradevī was a handsome young widow.[2] Aśvarāja had four sons Lūṇiga, Malladeva, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.[3] Luṇiga and Malladeva perhaps died young.[4]

Thus the parents of Vastupāla were of a high class family with power and position. Their father had made several pilgrimages to Mts. Śatruñjaya and Girnāra[5] and in one of the pilgrimages of V.E. 1249 they too as young boys accompanied their father.[6] We may assume from this that they were born in V.E. 1240-42. After their appointment as the ministers of Vīradhavala both the brothers made a pilgrimage in V.E. 1277.[7]

The position of the two ministers was quite unique. They enjoyed the full confidence of Vīradhavala. Vastupāla had the administration of the whole kingdom in his hand, while Tejaḥpāla had the ministerial seal of the whole state. Each of them had a son. Jaitrasiṁha, the son of Vastupāla, held the governorship of Cambay (V.E. 1279)[8] and Lūṇasiṁha was governor under Vīsaladeva.[9] These two brothers were valiant warriors and possessed a statesmanship of very high order. Then they came to power, the condition of Gujarāta was very precarious. It was harassed by enemies without and within. Parts of India were in the grip of mighty and unscrupulous foreigners who looked upon Gujarāta very covetously. But they saved their country from the calamity which had befallen it and established a strong and well regulated Government. It was a great fortune of the Vaghelas that they got two such able statesmen to lay the foundation of their kingdom. The Jain chronicles depict them as the real rulers of the

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[1] *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, Canto III, pp. 24–25, Vs. 45–51; *Vasanta-vilāsa*, Canto III, Vs. 53–63.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 98: कुमारदेव्यभिधाना काचिद्विधवातीव रूपवती बाला।

[3] *HIG.*, III, No. 207, p. 14; Girnar inscription of V.E. 1288.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, No. 106, p. 4, Vs. 8–11.

[5] *GOS.*, VII, Canto III, V. 59.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII, Introduction, p. XI, ft. (1); Watson Museum Rajkote inscriptions.

[7] *SJGM.*, I, p. 100; *HIG.*, III, No. 207, p. 14.

[8] *HIG.*, III, No. 207, p. 14.

[9] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 123.

Caulukya kingdom and give all credit for its administration and survival to them.[1]

Whatever may be their actual role in the affairs of Gujarāta, a number of inscriptions and monuments at Ābu, Girnar and Śatruñjaya proclaim them as the moving spirit of Jainism. They did much for Jainism under the Vaghelas. Under Kumārapāla, Jainism not only secured the royal patronage, but made itself felt throughout the length and breadth of Gujarāta, but it declined under Ajayapāla and never regained that status under the succeeding kings. It, however, gained some amount of success and prosperity not known before, under the Vaghela ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.[2]

In one verse of the *Sukṛta-saṁkirtana* there is a reference to various qualities of Vastupāla. He was well versed in arms, learning, wealth and in the field of battle.[3] His bravery is demonstrated in the battle of Cambay with Śaṅkha. He was a scholar and composed a poem entitled *Nara-nārāyanānanda*. He was a patron of learning. Several Jain and non-Jain scholars Arisiṁha, Bālacandrasūri, Someśvara, Jayasiṁhasūri, Udayaprabha, etc. flourished under his liberal prtronage.[4]

The *Sukṛta-saṁkirtanā, Vasanta-vilāsa* and *Sukṛta-kirti-kallolini* and *Naranārāyaṇānanda-kāvya* and all the contemporary works and several inscriptions from Mts. Girnar and Ābu describe the numerous charitable and building activities of the two ministers. They built many temples, wells, tanks, resting houses for Yatis, gardens and places for drinking water and supplied golden staffs to many temples. Mts. Śatruñjaya, Girnar aud Ābu were, however, marked out by them for spending their immense wealth.[5]

These activities were not limited to Jainism only but they were extended to other religions also. Vastupāla had installed (somewhere) two images of the consorts of Sūrya, Ratnadevī and Rājadevī. He also built a *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Ganeśvara in the village of Ganuli in V.E. 1291.[6] In the *Sukṛta-saṁkirtana* several works of this type are described.[7] Someśvara in his work *Kirti-kaumudi* states:

> "It cannot be said about this Jain minister that he did not worship the gods Śaṅkara and Viṣṇu and equally it also cannot be said that he

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[1] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction, p. xv, see also, *The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa* Pt. III, V. p. 216.

[2] H. D. Sankalia, *Archeology of Gujarata*, p. 42.

[3] Canto III, V. 43: दक्षः शस्त्रे च शास्त्रे च धने च प्रधने च यः ।

[4] *GMRI.*, pp. 286–287.

[5] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction, p. xvi.

[6] *GMRI.*, p. 393; see also *Archeology of Gujarata*, pp. 214, 226.

[7] See its introduction.

could not honour the Brāhmaṇas by his charity."[1]

It is said that both the brothers spent in all, three hundred crores and fourteen lakhs in public works.[2]

As a devout Jain Vastupāla made several pilgrimages during the tenure of his ministership. One of them he made in V.E. 1277 and eleven others between V.E. 1283 and 1293. It seems that between V.E. 1278 and 1293 he constructed all the public works. The poet, Someśvara, in the Girnar inscription of V.E. 1288, comparing Vastupāla first with Karṇa regarding generosity, says: "After Bhoja died and Muñja became a king in the heaven, if there was any man who removed the distress of the afflicted he was Vastupāla.[3]

Death of Vīradhavala: Vīradhavala must have died sometime before V.E. 1295, for a colophon of a Jain MS. *Yogasāra* informs us that Vīsaladeva, his son, was *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Vīsaladeva,[4] which would mean he died before that date. It is said in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that Vīradhavala, was fatally wounded in the battle of Pancagrāma and could not survive that wound.[5] The same authority further states that when Vīradhavala died, owing to his excessive popularity, 120 followers elected to burn themselves with his corpse, after that, Tejaḥpāla set guards on the cemetery and prevented that eager desire of the people.[6] The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* states that he embraced a religious death having dived himself in a pool at the holy place Matoḍa.[7] The *Prabandha-kośa*, on the other hand, refers to Vīradhavala to have been seized by an incurable disease and died thereof.[8] The *Rājāvali-koṣṭaka* composed in V.E. 1587 states that Vīradhavala died in V.E. 1294.[9]

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[1] Canto IV, V. 40: [illegible] ।
[illegible] ॥

[2] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction, p. xvi.

[3] *HIG.*, Pt. III, p. 16, V. 4. [illegible] श्रीवस्तुपाल [illegible]
[illegible] ।
[illegible] etc.

[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 121.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 104.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, p. 104: तदनु तस्मिन् स्वामिनि [illegible] ।

[7] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 66.

[8] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 124: [illegible] व्याधिना [illegible] ।

[9] *GMRI.*, p. 390.

Dispute over succession: The succession seems to have been disputed between his son Vīsala and brother Vīrama. His son Vīsaladeva, known from the Jain *prabandhas*, has also been testified by the Cintrā stone inscription of V.E. 1343 which states that Vīradhavala had two sons Pratāpamalla and Vīsaladeva. Pratāpamalla predeceased his father while Vīsala succeeded him.[1]

Vīramadeva is also known from *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* as the son of Lavaṇaprasāda from his second wife.[2] We do not know his early activities from any other sources. He, however, appears in the two inscriptions of Bhīma II, dated V.E. 1295 and 1296, as the son of Lūnapasā (Lavaṇaprasāda), and as one who got constructed the temple of Vīrameśvara.[3] A colophon of the Jain MS. *Sangrahaṇī-ṭīkā*, of the date V.E. 1296, mentions him as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara rāṇaka*.[4]

We have already seen that in the colophons of V.E. 1295 and 1298 Vīsala is also mentioned as *mahāmanḍaleśvara, rānaka*. These colophons seem to indicate that the kingdom for a time was divided between the nephew and uncle.

It is stated in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* that when Vīradhavala was dying a religious death he was filled with an anxiety about his son Vīsala. He revealed it to his minister Tejaḥpāla: "After me the kingdom would go to Vīrama and Vīsala would be troubled. Put the water in my hand, I shall offer my kingdom to Vīsala." The minister accordingly did and Vīradhavala died peacefuly.[5]

Accordingly to the *Prabandha-kośa*, Vīrama was the son of Vīradhavala. He is depicted there as a man of loose temper, whom Vīradhavala established in the village Vīrama. He, therefore, became hostile to his father. Vīsala, the other son, was very affectionate to Vīradhavala. Vīrama attempted to capture the throne but before his attempt Vastupāla established Vīsala on the throne. Then Vastupāla with Vīsala attacked Vīrama. A fierce battle was fought. Vīrama fled away to Jāvālipur in the hope of help from his father-in-law, Udayasiṁha, but Vastupāla warned the latter not to give him shelter, otherwise his life and kingdom would be endangered. He asked him to kill Vīrama. The bowmen of Udayasimha pierced him with arrows and sent his head to Vīsala.[6]

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[1] *HIG.*, III, No. 222, p. 79 ff. V. 8.
[2] *SJGM.*, II, p. 54.
[3] *HIG.*, II, Nos. 201 and 202, pp. 159 and 162.
[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 122.
[5] *SJGM.*, II, p. 66.
[6] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 125.

Whatever may be the truth behind the war of this succession, it is, however, a fact that Vīrama was not a son of Vīradhavala for the epigraphical evidences regard him as the son of Lūṇaprasāda and hence a brother of Vīradhavala.[1]

A story of the war of succession is narrated in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha,* which, in my opinion, may be considered more reliable than the story recorded in the *Prabandha-kośa.* It states:

> "After the death of Vīradhavala Lūṇaprasāda asked Tejaḥpāla as to who should be made king, whether Vīradhavala's son (who was then an infant) or Vīrama. The minister gave his consent in favour of Vīsala. Thereupon Vīrama striking Lavaṇaprasāda by his foot asked him whether he had still hope of ruling the kingdom, whether he wanted to see him also dying, and thus saying he left him. This act of Vīrama enraged Lavaṇaprasāda much and he asked Nāgaḍa to bring Vīsala as soon as possible. Then Lavaṇaprasāda marked Vīsala with *tilaka* and seated him on the throne with great ceremony. Vīrama stood there murmuring and was kept aside by the order of Vīsala. Vīsala also thought with the advice of Tejaḥpāla that the old Lavaṇaprasāda still had affection for Vīrama, he, therefore, wanted to poison him secretly. Lavaṇaprasāda, on the other hand, also thought that he had done wrong and next day he would give his throne to Vīrama. He ordered the gate-keeper not to allow any one to enter in his house. But Vīsala in spite of the restriction entered in and asked Lavaṇaprasāda to drink soon the nectar that he had brought. Lavaṇaprasāda hesitatingly drank it and soon after expired. The title '*Rājasthāpanācārya*' 'the king-maker' was conferred upon Tejaḥpāla.
>
> Vīsala then turned his mind towards Vīrama. He outwardly showed his respect to Vīrama and told him that he was ready to leave his kingdom if Vīrama aspired for it. This unexpected honour lowered the pride of Vīrama and he asked only five big and particular cities to be handed over to him with three lakhs of *Drammas* per year (for his maintenance). Vīsala accepted this demand. His minister skilfully constructed five villages having similar names to those cities, in the suburb of the capital and were given to him. He raised great objections and threatened to escape in case his demand was not met with. He was then killed by Vīsala while he was escaping towards the country of Mālava.[2]

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[1] See *supra*, p. 311.

[2] *SJGM.*, II, p. 67.

This story shows that Lavaṇaprasāda outlived Vīradhavala. He wanted to enthrone his second son, Vīrama, but his plans were frustrated by minister Tejaḥpāla. He, perhaps, was poisoned by Vīsala. Vīsala while capturing the power removed all sorts of thorns in his way. He allured Vīrama and then killed him.

As to when these intrigues prevailed we have no direct information, but we may assume from the two Jain colophons quoted above, that they might have started in V.E. 1295 and continued till V.E. 1300, when Vīsala occupied the throne of Pāṭan and became a full-powered king.

Death of Vastupāla: After the death of Vīradhavala Vastupāla could not live long. Within two years he also died. The contemporary authority, the *Vasanta-vilāsa,* states that in the fifth bright fortnight of *Magha* in V.E. 1296 Vastupāla, after consoling his wife Lalitādevī, his son Jaitrasiṁha and his brother Tejaḥpāla, left this mortal body.[1] The *Prabandha-kośa*[2] puts the date of his death in V.E. 1298 and the place as Aṅkevāliya, but this statement cannot be regarded as correct in the light of the above contemporary statement. After the death of Vastupāla, Vīsaladeva made Tejaḥpāla the prime minister who according to a Jain colophon enjoyed that post upto V.E. 1303.[3] The statement of the *Prabandha-kośa* that Viśaladeva made Nāgaḍa the prime minister when Vastupāla was alive, cannot be regarded as reliable in the light of the above view.[4] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Prabandha-kośa* state that Vastupāla died in the way between Dhavalakka and Śatruñjaya while he was on pilgrimage.[5] The contemporary work *Vasanta-vilāsa,* however, has no such statements. The *Prabandha-kośa* records that Vīsaladeva diminished the ministerial power of the two brothers.[6] It, however, does not seem likely, for we know from the earlier work *Prabandha-cintāmani* that Vīsaladeva got the throne in V.E. 1295 simply through Vastupāla's favour and his kingdom was firmly established by him.[7] According to *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha,*

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[1] *GOS.*, VII, Canto XIV, V. 37: वर्पे हर्प निपणगपण्णवतिके श्रीविक्रमोर्वभृनः ।
कालादृद्वादश संख्य हायन शतान्मासेऽत्र माघाहृये etc.

[2] *SJGM.*, VI, pp. 127–128: विक्रमादित्यात् १२९८ वर्षे प्राप्तम्। अंकेवालिआग्रामं यावत् प्राप etc.

[3] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 124, No. 198.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 125.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 105; *ibid.*, VI, p. 128: शत्रुंजयगमनसामग्री निष्पन्ना।

[6] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 104.

Tejaḥpāla was considered to be the king-maker (*Rājasthāpanacārya*).[1] It is, therefore, not possible that Vīsaladeva could have wrested the ministerial seat from Tejaḥpāla and given it to Nāgaḍa. Moreover, Vīsaladeva could not have done this, even if he had thought so, as his position could not have been firm and secure in the short period of one year when the ministers were so powerful and well established. In an inscription on Mt. Śatruñjaya dated 1296, Tejaḥpāla is called a *mahāmātya*.[2] The change in ministry perhaps was affected after the death of Tejaḥpāla, which took place, according to Jinaharṣagaṇi, ten years after that of Vastupāla, that is, in V.E. 1306.[3] According to the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha*, Tejaḥpala left Vīsaladeva in V.E. 1308 to go to heaven.[4] In the colophon of a Jain MS the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti*, dated V.E. 1303, Tejaḥpāla is called a *mahāmātya* in power at Aṇahillapura.[5] In an old leaf of a paper MS, the dates of the death of the two brothers are given as V.E. 1296 and 1304 respectively.[6]

Death of Bhīma II: The old king Bhīma still lingered on surrounded possibly by the imperial honours. Vīsala and Vīrama as his feudatories maintained the loyalty to him and his family. After the death of Vastupāla, Bhīma died within two years. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Pravacana-parīkṣā* he ruled for 63 years from 1236. Thus, he died in V.E. 1298.

After him, his son, Tribhuvanapāla succeeded to the nominal kingship. The only Jain source about him is the Cirwa inscription of V.E. 1330, composed by Ratnaprabhasūri. This inscription relates that "Bāla, the grandson of Yogarāja, the *Talāra* of Nāgaḍā in the reign of Padmasiṁha went to heaven fighting in front of Jaitrasiṁha to capture Koṭṭaḍaka from *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana.[7] The Rāṇaka Tribhuvana of the record has been rightly identified with the Caulukya Tribhuvanapāla. His contemporary

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, p. 67: तेजःपालस्य राजस्थापनाचार्यः इति बिरुदं जातम्।

[2] *Pracīna Jain Lekha Saṁgraha*, No. 65: स्वस्तिश्री १२९६ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि ३ शत्रुंजयतीर्थे महामात्य तेजःपालेन कारित: etc.

[3] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction, p. viii.

[4] *SJGM.*, II, p. 68: तथा १३०८ वर्षे महं तेजःपालेन स्वर्गगमनाय राजमुक्त्वापित:।

[5] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 124, No. 198.

[6] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction, p. viii: सं० १२९६ महं वस्तुपालो दिवंगतः।
सं० १३०४ महं तेजःपालो दिवंगतः॥

[7] *WZKM.*, XXI, pp. 142–62, V. 19: वाल्हकः कोट्टडक ग्रहणे श्रीजैत्रसिंहस्याग्रत:।
त्रिभुवनराणकयुद्धे जगाम युद्ध्वापरं लोकम्॥

was the Guhila prince Jaitrasiṁha (V.E. 1270-1309, 1273-1312 A.D.)[1] This statement certainly indicates the struggle between the two.

The later Jain work *Pravacana-parīkṣā* assigns four years for his reign, while a *Paṭṭāvalī* gives two months twelve days only.[2] The only copper plate of his reign discovered so far is dated V.E. 1299.[3]

Vīsaladeva: A colophon of the Jain MS *Yogaśastra* noted above informs us that in V.E. 1295 Vīsaladeva was already enjoying the post of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Mahārāṇaka*.[4] Perhaps, he was raised to this post soon after the death of his father Vīradhavala. The throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka was still occupied by Bhīma II, the inscriptions and colophons of MSS of his reign confirm this. Another colophon of *Deśī-nāmamāla* establishes the fact that in V.E. 1298 Vīsaladeva held the same post when Lūṇasiṁha, the son of minister Tejaḥpāla, was governing the kingdom from Bharonca.[5] The *Vicāraśreṇi* states that *Śrī Vīradhavalabandhu* Śrī Vīsaladeva succeeded to the throne of Paṭan in V.E. 1300.[6] Another Jain work, the *Pravacana-parīkṣā*, gives his accession date as V.E. 1302.[7] But in presence of the early reference we may, however, discard the later statements. A definite proof of his kingship is furnished from a colophon of the *Ācārāṅga-niryukti* which is dated as early as V.E. 1303 and invests him with the title *Mahārājādhirāja*.[8]

The Jain *prabandhas* are almost silent about his achievements although he enjoyed a reign of 18 years. From other sources it appears that he was a military leader of great capacity. He fought a number of battles with the king of Mālava, the two Yādava kings Sinhaṇa and Kṛṣna, and with the kings of Mewār and Karṇāṭaka.[9]

We have no Jain inscription of his reign, but several colophons of the Jain MSS so far discovered enable us to get some information about his ministers and generals. A colophon dated 1295 of a Jain MS tells us that Vijayasiṁha was *daṇḍādhipati* (general) when Vīsaladeva was raised to the post of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka*.[10] The colophon dated 1298 states that

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[1] *Rajapūtānā kā Itihās*, I, p. 411, fn. 1.
[2] *GMRI.*, p. 396.
[3] *IA.*, VI, p. 208.
[4] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 121.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 123.
[6] *JSS.*, II, Pt. IV, p. 9.
[7] P. 272.
[8] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 124.
[9] *GMRI.*, pp. 399-402.
[10] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 121.

Lūṇasiṁha, the son of Tejaḥpāla, was governor when Vīsala was ruling in the above capacity.[1] The colophon of V.E. 1303 refers to Tejaḥpāla as the prime minister of Vīsaladeva.[2] The colophon of the date V.E. 1307 relates that Dhandha was *mahattama* (an high officer) of Vīsaladeva.[3] The two colophons of the dates V.E. 1310 and 1313 record Nāgaḍa as prime minister of the state,[4] whom several Jain *prabandhas* also refer to. It seems that he was appointed as the chief minister after the death of Tejaḥpāla.

The *Prabandha-kośa* refers to some scholars at the court of Vīsaladeva. They were Someśvara, Arisiṁha, Amaracandsūri, Somāditya of Vāmansthalī, Kāmāditya of Kṛṣṇanagara and Nāṇaka of Vīsalanagara. It is stated there that once Vīsaladeva called the poet Amara in the court through Thakkura Vaijala. The king honoured him. The poet recited two stanzas in praise of the king, which highly pleased him. Once his court poets presented for completion some 108 incomplete stanzas to poet Amara who easily completed them in no time and, thus, was praised by all.[5] The story presents a lively picture of the court where the meeting of scholars was considered an important part of the court life.

The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* states that in V.E. 1315 there prevailed a famine in the reign of Vīsaladeva. Vīsaladeva called from Bhadreśvara through Nāgaḍa a wealthy merchant by name Jagaḍuka to help him.[6] It is said in the *Jagaḍū-carita* that the wealthy merchant did his best to remove the famine.[7] Perhaps, he had several storehouses of grain which he distributed among the famine-stricken people.[8]

The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* refers to Vīsaladeva's wife by name Nāgaladevī. It is said that she was very fond of music. She knew all sorts of musical modes. She wanted that her husband should also be proficient in music and ultimately she achieved her object.[9]

Vīsaladeva died in V.E. 1318 and was succeeded by Arjunadeva.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 125–126.
[5] *SJGM.*, VI, pp. 61–63: अमरकविप्रबंधः।
[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 80. praba. 187.
[7] *GMRI.*, p. 410.
[8] *SJGM.*, II, p. 80.
[9] *SJGM.*, II, p. 71.

Arjunadeva (*c.* 1264–1274 A.D.): The *Vicaraśreṇi* states that Vīsala deva was followed by Arjunadeva in the year V.E. 1318 (1261 A.D.) and ruled till V.E. 1331 (1274 A.D.)[1] But their relationship is not mentioned there. The Cintrā *praśasti* of Śāraṅgadeva dated V.E. 1343, reveals the fact that Arjunadeva was nephew of Vīsaladeva.[2] The Jain work *Pravacana-parīkṣā* gives him the date from V.E. 1320 to 1333.[3] His inscriptions range from 1320 to 1330 V.E. (1264-1273 A.D)[4] The Muslim historians attribute only 10 years for his reign.[5] As the earliest known inscription of his successor is dated V.E. 1332,[6] we assume that the date ascribed by the *Vicāraśreṇi* is almost correct.

The Jain *prabandhas* do not throw any light on his reign. We, however, have more than half a dozen colophons of Jain MSS ranging from V.E. 1318 to 1327,[7] which help us to fix his chronology correctly.

These colophons refer to his titles as *Mahārājādhirāja Mahārājaśrī* and *Samastarājāvalī-samalaṁkṛta Mahārājādhirāja* and mention Śrīsoma as Māladeva as *mahāmātya* (prime minister).

We have also one Jain inscription of his reign known as the Girnar stone inscription, dated V.E. 1330. This inscription is found at the entrance of the *Maṇḍapa* of Gaṇadhara situated in the west of the main temple of Neminātha. It records the grant of right of engraving (*sūtradhāratvam*) in the temple of Neminātha and get other sacred places on the hill of Girnar to *Sūtradhāra* Haripāla. It was engraved in the reign of Arjunadeva when Pālhā was transacting the business of the seal in Saurāṣṭra.[8]

Sāraṅgadeva (1274–1296 A.D.): The *Vicāraśreṇi* states that Arjunadeva was succeeded by Sāraṅgadeva in V.E. 1331[9] who according to the Cintra-praśasti was the son of Arjunadeva.[10] His inscription shows that he ruled from V.E. 1332 to 1352 (1295–1296 A.D.). This roughly corroborates the statement of the *Vicāraśreṇi.* The Muslim historians, however, assigned him a reign of 21 years.[11]

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[1] *JSS.*, II, Pt. IV, p. 9; ततः १३१८ श्रीअर्जुनदेवः। १३३१ सारंगदेवः।
[2] *EI.*, I, p. 272, V. 9.
[3] P. 272.
[4] *HIG.*, III, Nos. 217–219 A.
[5] *AAK.*, II, p. 260; MK. Trans. 159.
[6] *HIG.*, III, No. 220.
[7] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 127–129.
[8] *Poona Orientalist*, III, No. 1, p. 21; see also *HIG.*, III, No. 219 A.
[9] *JSS.*, II, No. 4, p. 9.
[10] *EI.*, I, pp. 271–87.
[11] *AAK.*, II, p. 260; MA. Trans., p. 159.

The *prabandha* literature of the Jains is silent about the achievements of the king. We, however, have four published inscriptions and more than half a dozen colophons of the Jain MSS of his reign.[1]

The first Jain epigraph known as the Āmaraṇa inscription was found at Āmaraṇa in Kathiawar. This inscription is dated V.E. 1233 and throws some new light on the history of Sāraṅgadeva. It refers to his pompous titles such as *Mālavadharā-dhūmaketu* (comet to the kingdom of Mālava) *Gurjjaradhariṇī-samuddharaṇa, Saptama Cakravarti, Bhujabala-malla Mahārāja.* It records a grant of a garden to worship Sumatisvāmi, the fifth Jain *Tīrthaṅkara,* made by a prince (name lost) son of Capotkata Rāṇaka Bhojadeva with the permission of Palhā the the officer in charge of Saurāṣṭra and other Pañcakulas.[2]

In this record, the first title given to Sāraṅgadeva indicates that the traditional hostilities against the rulers of Mālava were continued under him also. The second title shows that he had revived the fortune of the Gurjara country. The *Saptama Cakravarti* is no new title for him for we know that Bhīma II bore it several times.[3] Pālhā, officer in charge of the province, is the same whose name we find in the inscription of Arjunadeva, the father of Sāraṅgadeva, dated V.E. 1330.[4] This inscription also informs us that the Cāvaḍā family held sway over Kathiāwāra.

The second inscription is a small one dated in V.E. 1345 found in a Jain temple at the village Dattāni in Sirohī State, Rājasthāna. It records that in the prosperous reign of Śrī Sāraṅgadeva and *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Vīsaladeva, ruling at Candrāvati, Pratāpaśrī and Hemaśrī bestowed two fields to meet the expenses in worship of Śrī Pārśvadeva.[5]

The third inscription is found in the Vimala temple at Mt. Abu. It is dated V.E. 1350. It gives many grandiloquent titles to Sāraṅgadeva, the most important among them being *Mālaveśavirūthini-gaja-ghaṭā-kumbhasthalavidāraṇaikapañcānana* and *Abhinavasiddharāja.* This inscription records that his feudatory chief Vīsaladeva, ruling at Aṣṭadaśaśatīpradeśa, issued a writ from Candrāvatī to levy taxes on merchants and traders to meet the expenses of the two temples of

[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 128–133.

[2] *Purātattva* (Guj.), I, Pt. i, pp. 37–41; see also *Poona Orientalist,* III, No. 1, p. 23.

[3] *HIG.*, II, Nos. 166, 170 and 186 etc.

[4] *Poona Orientalist,* III, No. 1, p. 21.

[5] *Arbuda Pr. Jaina Lekha-saṅgraha,* Pt. V, p. 19.

Vimala and Lūṇiga at Mt. Abu. This epigraph mentions Śrī Vādhuya as the prime minister of Sāraṅgadeva who at that time was transacting the seal of the office.[1]

From the last two inscriptions it appears that the region of Candrāvatī was under the suzerainty of Sāraṅgadeva.

A fourth Jain inscription known as Cambay stone inscription is dated V.E. 1352 (*c.* 1295 A.D.). It is an important inscription. It gives the genealogy of the Vaghelas. It also refers to Arjunadeva as having two sons, the elder one was called Rāmadeva. Both sons shared in managing the state affairs in the lifetime of their father.[2]

The Muralīdhara praśasti of V.E. 1354 also confirms the statement of the Cambay Jain inscription.[3] We, however, do not know other activities of Rāmadeva. Perhaps, he might have predeceased his father, for his younger brother, Sāraṅgadeva, is mentioned by all the inscriptions as the successor of Arjunadeva.

These Jain epigraphs show that Sāraṅgadeva's kingdom extended from Kathiawāra in the west to Mālava in the east. We have already seen that two inscriptions, one Āmaraṇa and another Vimala temple inscriptions, give prominent place to the victory over the Mālava kings. But the name of the Mālava king is not mentioned. The Muralīdhara praśasti informs us that Sāraṅgadeva compelled one Gogadeva to flee away from the battle.[4] The late Pt. Tanasukharāma Tripāthi on this statement assumes that this Gogadeva is identical with Goga mentioned by the Tarikha Firista who was once a friend of Mālava king and who later on became the master of the kingdom.[5] In reference to the above two inscriptions we may assume that the Mālava king, who was defeated tn the year V.E. 1331–32 by Sāraṅgadeva, is no other than Gogarāja.

The colophons of the Jain MSS of his reign range from V.E. 1327 to 1346. The colophon of V.E. 1327 mentions him as Mahārājakumāra, when he was appointed governor in Mudgavatī.[6] This shows that at that tim he as a crown prince shared in the administration of his father, which fact may be corroborated from the Cambay Jain inscription and the Muralīdhara praśasti noted above. The colophon of the *Ādinātha-carita* of V.E. 1339 refers to some of his pompous titles and mentions Śrīkanha as the

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[1] *Poona Orientalist*, III, No. 2, p. 69; see also *HIG.*, III, No. 223 A.

[2] *CPSI.*, pp. 227–33.

[3] *Buddhiprakāśa* (Guj.), 1910, p. 77.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Reu, V.N. *Rājā Bhoja*, pp. 228–29, fn. 334; *GMRI.*, p. 419.

[6] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 128.

prime minister.[1] The colophon of the *Uttarādhyayana-vṛtti* of V.E. 1343 gives him the title *Samastarājāvali* etc., and refers to his prime minister Madhusūdana as transacting the business of the seal and it also mentions *Mahattama* (an officer) Śrīsoma.[2]

Another colophon of the *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* of V.E. 1346 states that *Mahattama* Śrī Muñjāladeva was an attached (*Prativaddha*) officer to Sāraṅgadeva and Śrī Sāṅga was an appointed officer by him.[3]

Besides these ministers we know from the two Jain inscriptions, one from Āmaraṇa and another from the Vimala temple, that Pālha was in charge of Saurāṣṭra in V.E. 1333 and Vādhūya was the prime minister in V.E. 1350.

Karṇadeva (c. 1297–1304 A D.): The *Vicāraśreṇi* says that Laghu Karṇa ascended the throne in V.E. 1353 and ruled till V.E. 1360 (1297–1304 AD.)[4] The Muslim historians give 6 years 10 months and 15 days for his reign. The confirmation of the last date of Karṇa we find from a colophon of the Jain MS named *Anuyogadvāra-vṛtti* which records that a wealthy merchant, Pethad, with his six brothers, consecrated an image of Lord Mahāvīra in the temple of the Neminātha at Mt. Ābu in the year V.E. 1360, in the reign of Laghu Śrī Karnadeva.[5] From all the sources, it appears that Karṇadeva was the last Vaghela king of Aṇhilavāda. We have no detailed account of his reign from the Jain sources.

We know from other sources that Mādhava was his minister. The *Vicāraśreṇi* and the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, the two almost contemporary Jain works, refer to an incident that the minister Mādhava, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, invited Ulukhan (Ulughkhan), the younger brother of Ala-'ud-Din, to Gujarāta from Delbi. But both the authorities differ in the date. The *Vicāraśreṇi* gives the year V.E. 1360, while the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* gives the year V.E. 1356.[6] We, however, have no contemporary evidence to check these dates. The subsequent authorities like *Dharmāraṇya*, and *Kānhaḍade-prabandha* agree that Mādhava brought the Yavanas in Gujarāta. The Muslim historians,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

[4] *JSS.*, II, Pt. IV, p. 9, V. 1360: १३५३ लघुकर्णः। १३६० यवना माधवनागरविप्रेण आनीताः।

[5] *Praśasti-saṅgraha* (Ahmedabad), Pt. II, p. 73.

[6] *JSS.*, II, No. 4, p. 9: १३६० यवना माधवनागरविप्रेणानीताः।

SJGM., X, p. 30: अह तेरह सय छप्पन्नविक्कमवरिसे अल्लावदीण सुरत्ताणस्स कणिट्ठो भाया उल्लूखाननामधिज्जो ढिल्लीपुराओ मंतिमाहवपेरिओ गुज्जरधरं पट्ठिओ।

however, do not record the name of Mādhava. The *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* mentions the route through which Ulugh-khān made the invasion. It states that he started from Delhi to Gujarāta. In the way Samarasiṁha, the king of Citor paid him tribute and saved his country Mewār from him. Then pillaging the Vāgaḍa country and cities like Modesā, etc., he reached Āsāvallī. The king Karṇa fled away. Then he proceeded to Somanātha and shattered the idol to pieces and carried away the booty in a cart to Delhi. He went to Vāmanasthalī, there he punished *Rāṇaka* Maṇḍalīka and established his order on Saurāṣṭra. He came back to Āsāvallī and destroyed a monastery, temples and shrines.[1] In this description it is not clear from which place Karṇa fled away. Muni Jina Vijayajī commenting on this statement assumes that the statement is incomplete. It does not say whether Ulugh-khān invaded Pāṭana or not.[2] The Muslim historians, on the other hand, state that Ulugh-khān and Nusrat-khān with their Amirs and generals and large army marched against Gujarāta. They took and plundered Nahorwāla (Aṇahilavāda) and all Gujarāta. Karan Rai of Gujarāta fled away from Naharwāla and went to Rāmdeo of Deogir. The wives and daughters, the treasure and elephants of Rai Karṇa fell into the hands of the Muhammadans.[3]

As to when the Muslims took Pāṭana is known, however, from the Jain sources. The *Vicāraśreṇi* and *Pravacana-parīkṣā* give us the date V.E. 1360[4]. A colophon of the *Anuyogadvāra-vṛtti* states that in V.E. 1360[5] Karṇa was ruling. The *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa*, on the other hand, refers to the date V.E. 1356.[6] Most of the Muslim historians, however, assign A.H. 697 or 698 (V.E. 1255 or 1256) to this invasion.[7]

A Jain work, *Nābhinandanoddhāra-prabandha*, gives a detailed description of this invasion made by Ulugh-khān. Regarding Karṇa it says that by the valour of Alā-ud-Din, Karṇa, the lord of Gujarāta fled away and after wandering in other countries died a death of wretched man.[8] We, however,

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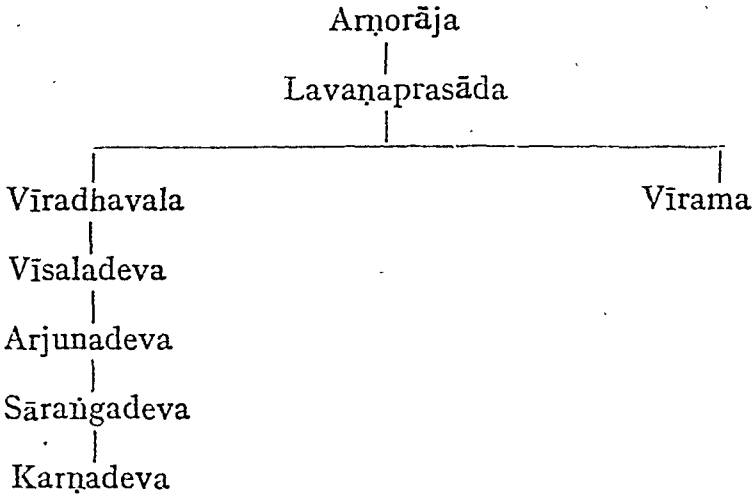
[1] *SJGM.*, X, p. 30.
[2] *Purātattva* (Guj.), IV, p. 267.
[3] Elliot, III, p. 163.
[4] *JSS.*, II, No. 4, p. 9, *Pravacana-parikṣā*, p. 272.
[5] *Praśasti-saṅgraha*, p. 73, No. 269 : समहगतिलघोः श्रीकर्णदेवस्य राज्ये सरससमय सोमे (१३६०) चन्धुभिः पड्भिरेव ।
[6] *SJGM.*, X, p. 30.
[7] *GMRI.*, p. 436.
[8] *Purātattva* (Guj.), IV, p. 272 : गुर्जरत्राधिपः कर्णस्तूर्णं यस्य प्रतापतः ।
नष्ट्वा गतो विदेशेषु भ्रान्त्वा भो रंकवन्मृतः ।

possess no information about his son, wife and other members of his family *from the Jain sources.*

Thus we know from the Jain sources the following members of this branch:

II. THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF LĀṬA

There are unfortunately no Jain sources regarding the earliest existence of Cāhamānas in Lāṭa. The Hansot grant of Bhaṛtṛvaḍḍha is the only source which reveals that as early as the 8th century A.D. Lāṭa was under the possession of the then ruling dynasty of Cāhamānas. After that period nothing is known of them from any sources for about five centuries. But all of a sudden their existence in Lāṭa in the thirteenth century is revealed by the Jain sources. A contemporary drama the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁhasūri, frequently, refers to Śaṅkha *alias* Saṅgrāmasiṁha, son of Sindhurāja, brother of Sinha, the Cāhamāna king of Lāṭadeśa. He is described there as "*Maṇḍaleśvara*" and "*Gurjaramahīhaṇḍamaṇḍalāhivaī.*"[1] His capital was at Broach. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra states that the princes of Broach belonged to the Cāhamāna clan[2] and as late as V.E. 1533, we

[1] *GOS.*, X, 1920, p. 17: (*i*) स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराज देवपालदेवः संग्रामसिंहमण्डलेश्वरं समादिशति।
(*ii*) एसो गुर्जरमहीहंडमंडलाहिवई ॥

[2] *GOS.*, VII, 1917, p. 22: चाहमाननृपतिस्तु दिनेऽस्मिन् क्वागतः क्वचन लभ्यत एव।

find that there were municipalities of the Cāhamānas in the Lāṭadeśa.[1] Any how, we know of only two members of his branch.

Sindhurāja: We know from the history of the Paramāras that Sindhurāja was a vassal of Arjunavarma of Mālava (1211–15 A.D.).[2] It appears from the inscriptions of the Yādavas (1169-1247 A.D.) that he was defeated several times by Yādava king Siṁhaṇa.[3] We have already referred to a struggle of Sindhurāja with Jayasiṁha Sindhurāja in which he is said to have been defeated.[4] A Jain authority, known as the Sundha hill inscription (V.E. 1319), states that Udayasiṁha, the Cāhamāna prince of Jalor (1209–1249 AD.), killed Sindhurāja."[5] The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* states that Saṅgrāmasiṁha (Śaṅkha) of Lāṭa attacked Vastupāla, the minister of Vīradhavala, in retaliation of his father's enmity.[6] We also know from the Jain *prabandhas* that Udayasiṁha was a feudatory of Vīradhavala. The above two references, if jointly interpreted, show that Udayasiṁha, in collaboration of Vīradhavala, killed Sindhurāja.

Sindhurāja had a brother by name Siṁha, who was also a well known figure in the political circles of that time.[7] We, however, do not know of him from the Jain sources except that he was also for sometime ruler of Lāṭa (*Lāṭadeśādhipati*).

Śaṅkha alias Saṅgrāmasiṁha: Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Śankha alias Sangrāmasiṁha. He appears to have been a good warrior. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* informs us that he had repulsed an attack of the army of the Yādava king, Siṁhaṇa on the banks of the Narmadā[8]. "Though attacked on one side by the sons of Arṇorāja (Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala) the brave warrior Śaṅkha, making the Mālava king to interfere, repulsed an attack of the Yādava army which had been attracted by the conflict."[9] The

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[1] *GOS.*, VII, Introduction.

[2] See *supra*, p. 115.

[3] See *supra* p. 304.

[4] See *supra* p. 253.

[5] *EI.*, IX, pp. 76–77, V. 46: सिन्धुराजान्तको यः।

[6] *GOS.*, X, p. 5: तत्पितृवैरमनुस्मरतः. . . .संग्रामसिंहस्य।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 5: लाटदेशाधिपसिंहभ्रातृव्यस्य।

[8] *GOS.*, VII, V. 42: निर्मदामकृतयादवसेनां नर्मदाविपुलरोधसि शंखः।

[9] *Ibid*, Vs. 29–30: एकतस्त्रिदशमूर्तिभिरर्णोराज . . . . विलग्नैः।
मालवक्षितिधरं . . . .।
कालकूटमुदगान् यदुसैन्यं . . . .।

same authority informs us that Śaṅkha was once taken prisoner and was shackled in the jail of the Yādava king.[1] It is also said of him that images of twelve feudatory princes were tied to his left foot with a golden chain."[2] The same work further says that once Vīradhavala invaded the Lāṭa country and captured Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) by force[3] and appointed Vastupāla to govern that territory. It happened during the temporary eclipse of Śaṅkha who was perhaps under the imprisonment of the Yādava king.[4]

Śaṅkha, thereupon, established his capital at Broach (Bhṛgukaccha) and attacked Cambay with a mighty array of fource.[5] In this war he was assisted by the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa, who was then on friendly terms with him and also with the Paramāra ruler Devapāla.[6] But Vastupāla through his skill foiled the plan. At last, Śaṅkha was defeated and compelled to retire to Broach.[7]

According to the *Hammira-mada-mardana* the cause of the war was the retaliation for his father's enmity by Śaṅkha,[8] but the later Jain works give somewhat different reasons. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* tells us that Vastupāla had a quarrel with the sea-merchant, Saiyad, who called in to his help *Mahāsādhanika* Śaṅkha from Broach.[9] The *Prabandha-kośa* and Jinaharṣa's *Vastupāla-carita* supply the names of the merchant sailors as Sādika and Śaṅkha, chief of the port of Vaḍvā, which is some five miles from Bhavanagar.[10] The cause of the quarrel is given as the insult done by Sādika to Vastupāla in disregarding his authority.[11]

From these Jain sources it is clear that a branch of the Cāhamāna race was ruling at Broach. It also appears from the sources referred to above

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[1] *Ibid.*, V. 42: बन्धनानि यदयं समवाप।

[2] *Ibid.*, V. 28: स्वर्णदाममयमितायसमूर्तैर्यस्य वामचरणे विलुडन्तः।

[3] *Ibid.*, Canto IV, V. 24: एकदा वीरधवलः प्रसह्यासह्य विक्रमः।
तद्विगृह्य समादत्त लङ्कामिव रघूद्वहः॥

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 25: श्रीवीरधवलस्योर्वीधवलस्य निदेशतः।
तत्पुरं वस्तुपालस्तु चिरकालमपालयत्॥

[5] *Ibid.*, Canto V, V. 16: लाटदेशनृपति भृगुकच्छादुच्चचाल चलदश्वबलश्रीः।

[6] *GOS.*, X, Act I, V. 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18: अत्रान्तरे भूपतिभयेन पलायितः संग्रामसिंहः।

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 5: तत्पितृवैरमनुस्मरतः।

[9] *SJGM.*, I, p. 102: श्रीवस्तुपालस्य स्तम्भतीर्थे सद्दनाम्ना नौवित्तेन समं विग्रहे संजायमाने श्रीभृगुपुरान्महासाधनिकं शंखनामानं श्रीवस्तुपालं प्रति यालकालरूपमानीतवान्।

[10] *SJGM.*, VI, p. 108, para 127.

[11] *Ibid.*: अस्मान्नन्तुं किमिति नागच्छसि? स प्रतिवक्ति—न वेयं रीतिः, प्रागपि नागच्छामि।

that their position was not sound. Broach at that time was situated on the frontiers of the Caulukyas, Yādavas and the Paramāras and in the age of the dominance of these kingdoms, its position might have been insignificant. The rulers of that place were reduced to the rank of mere feudatories. Jayasiṁhasūri calls Śaṅkha as *maṇḍaleśvara* while the *Vasanta-vilāsa* speaks of him as *bhūpati*.[1] In the light of the above statements it seems very doubtful whether at any time they really enjoyed sovereign power.

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[1] *GOS.*, VII, p. 21, Vs, 18, 23.

PART II

STATE AND ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER XI

STATE AND ADMINISTRATION

General condition of the period:

In the foregoing chapters we have discussed the dynastic history of Northern India on the basis of the available data from the Jain sources. From the time of Harṣa upto the downfall of the Cāhamānas, Caulukyas and Guhilotas, we have seen several ruling dynasties rising and falling on the horizon of Northern India. Some of them possessed a large territory which, in fact, may be called an empire having many subordinate feudal states under them. Thus from the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.) we learn that Harṣa had several feudatories.[1] The Devagaḍh inscription of Bhoja Pratīhāra (862 A.D.) shows that the Gurjara Pratīhāras had also a number of powerful *sāmantas*.[2] Likewise, the Paramāras, Caulukyas and other imperial powers were actually the lords of several feudatories. Hence an empire or a kingdom was largely a feudal organism. Suzerainty meant during this period a suzerainty over some feudatories. In this fashion every real kingdom was an empire. As the internal autonomy of the various regions of an empire was maintained, it partook of the nature of a confederation. The previous analysis of the Jain epigraphic and literary data of our period certainly have told us an identical tale.

The political characteristic of our period is somewhat monotonous and stagnant. If we try to arrange all relevent Jain inscriptions and literary sources in the chronological as well as regional order, we actually fail to find out any notable changes or developments. Everywhere one may meet with the same conditions of suzerainty and vassalage; everywhere one can see the same despotism; everywhere the political constitution and administrative structure in those states were fundamentally similar. From the broad administrative point of view North India showed a unity but from the strict political standpoint it was conspicuously absent.

Another characteristic of our period is that literature in polity during this period is lacking in originality, depth and movement. No original work of note has been composed on contemporary polity and working institutions.

The Jain literature of this period, though extensive and magnificent, is, from the administrative view-point only, of secondary importance. It tells

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[1] *EI.*, VI, V. 23: अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेना etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 309, No. 44.

us little that is absolutely new, but it confirms in a most striking manner the conclusions to which other evidences lead.

Let us discuss the political conception and ideas we get from these sources regarding the state and administration of the period.

I. Origin and conception of the state:

Jinasena and other Jain authors of our period record the tradition which traces the origin of the state. In the *Ādi-purāṇa,* Jinasena (8th century) says that formerly on the earth there was a blissful state (*bhogabhūmi*) where the people's worldly desires were very few. They got all they wanted, from the wish-yielding trees (*kalpavṛkṣas*). Gradually, with the change of time, there was a fall from this ideal state. When all the wish-yielding trees were disappearing people were getting perplexed. The change in the universe caused havoc among them. They found several hindrances in the way of their life.[1] They came to solve their difficulties before an eminent person of their age and he showed the timely solution of their daily problems.[2] According to Jains there had been born twelve such eminent persons called patriarchs (*kulakāras*) during the transition era. When all the wish-yielding trees entirely disappeared the Lord Ṛṣabhadeva, the first exponent of Jainism, introduced six occupations: martial, agricultural, literary, artistic, commercial and industrial. He divided the people on earth into three classes, *Kṣatriya, Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* according to their professions. There was no caste originally. He also established the system of law and order over the world. He planned and built villages and towns, grouping the former into circles of eight hundred, four hundred and two hundred.[3] He created four great kings and placed under them a thousand smaller kings and feudatories. He founded the institutions of punishment and imprisonment. Formerly there was a light chastisement like mild rebuke, but in the changed circumstances some harsher punishments were needed.[4] Jinasena says that for the preservation of man a coercive authority was essential. Nothing else could restrain the wicked from wicked ways. In the absence of coercion the world presents a condition of *Matsya nyāya* (the logic of the fish).[5] Thus we find that a state of good order was established gradually. There was no divine creation or order. This Jainistic idea of origin of the state can strikingly be corroborated with ideas expressed in the

[1] *Ādi-purāṇa*, III, Vs. 30–192; XVI, Vs. 130–190

[2] *Ibid.*, III, Vs. 50-190.

[3] *Ibid.*, XVI, Vs. 130–190.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVI, V. 241–257.

[5] *Ibid.*, XVI, V, 251–252.

Brahmanical and Buddhistic accounts. They both assert that for a long time after creation of society, there prevailed a golden age of harmony and happiness. Somehow there was a fall from this ideal state.

The *Aggañña-suttānta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*[1] says that formerly on the earth there were human beings who were made of mind and were self-luminous. They fed on rapture and traversed the air in abiding loveliness. Then a change occurred in the order of the universe. They worked somehow under the pressure of circumstances but disorder prevailed. Thereupon they gathered together and selected the most handsome, gracious and capable individual from amongst them and named him *Mahājana-Sammata*. The public requested him to become their king and put an end to the prevailing chaos, agreeing to give, him a part of their paddy in return of his serivices. This account shows that state originated in a social contract.

The *Mahābhārata* also reveals an identical tale by saying that after the fall of the Golden Age when the law of jungle prevailed, Brahmā, the chief God, composed a treatise on *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*. It could not be enforced in the absence of a King. Then God Nārāyana by a fiat of his will created a son from his *Tejas* (Lustre) and named him *Virajas*. It was, however, Pṛthu the seventh descendant from Viṣnu who was crowned King and endowed with divine virtues, so that he might be a ruler.[2] This account of the *Mahabhārata* shows that the state was regarded as a divine institution. But the most striking feature of Jainistic view is to eliminate as far as possible the divine creation of the state. We know that Jainism does not regard any creator. It believes that an ordinary soul can become what is called Godhead through evolution. Accordingly, the political as well as other social institutions are the outcome of the changed circumstances. The patriarchs (*kulakāras*) were only the initiators of ways and means of life. Their mission was to educate the mass in the widest sense of the term. The government was more than protective and paternal. Pre-eminence on one side and need of guidance on the other were the two factors to establish certain relationships and we find that, in course of time, one was converted into the ruler and the other into the ruled. There is no indication that the government was instituted by any definite contract.[3] The state is considered by a Jain author as the source of life and spirit, the aims of which are *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* all combined.[4]

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1 Sacred Books of the Buddhists, IV, p. 77 ff.

2 Śāntiparva, Chap. 58.

3 Beniprasada, *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp. 224–225.

4 *Nītivā.*, p. 7 : अथ धर्मार्थकामफलाय राज्यायनमः।

From the statement of the (*Ādi-purāṇa*) we find that the so called modern factors—sovereignty, population and territory—of the state were considered essential for the existence of the state in that remote age too.

II. Seven constituents of state:

Our ancient authors describe the seven constituents of the ancient Indian State. The Jain authors of our period also share this view with them. Somadeva (10th cent.) has elaborately described these constituents in his *Nītivākyāmṛta* but he has said nothing new regarding them. They are *Svāmī* (king), *Amātya* (ministry), *Janapada* (territory), *Durga* (fort), *Kośa* (treasury), *Bala* (army), *Mitra* (allies).[1] These constituents are regarded as the limbs (*Aṅgas*) of the body politic by the Indian thinkers. They more or less existed during our period in every state whether it was possessed by the sovereign rulers or feudal lords. Thus, for instance, Mūlarāja, the founder of the Caulukyan empire, had a ministry which he consulted at the time of the invasion over the Cāhamāna king, Vigraharāja (772 A.D.).[2] He possessed a territorial state called Sārasvata-maṇḍala. He had a fort named Kanthadurga where he took shelter at the time of invasion by his enemy. He had most probably a confederation of his allies which was destroyed by Muñja in the country of Medapāṭa.[3] He maintained a large army with the help of which he attacked Vārapa and Vigraharāja, and to maintain all these he possessed a good treasury also. Likewise, a feudal lord, the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa who enjoyed long vassalage under the Caulukyas, had also a territorial state named Aṣṭottaraśatīdeśa or Asossiṭṭan and possessed a standing army with which he assisted the Caulukyas from time to time. He had a good treasury to maintain his power and a ministry to govern his kingdom. He had allies like the Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa whose daughter, Śṛṅgāradevī, he married.[4] We also see similar things with the imperial Paramāras, Cāhamānas and other sovereign states and their feudatories from the Jain inscriptions and literature.

To the dynasties described in the foregoing chapters which held the sway for a considerable period of time, these seven constituents must have been indispensable in their body politic, otherwise they could not exist and function properly for that period. Some of the limbs like king and ministers

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[1] *Nītivā.*, Chapter 17–23. Cf. Kauṭilya V, 6, 55: स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः।

[2] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 16–17.

[3] *EI.*, X, p. 10 ff., V. 10.

[4] See *supra* p. 292, section on Paramāras of Candrāvatī.

might have figured more prominent than others like forts and allies, but, without the mutual integration and co-operation of all these seven, no government of the state at that time could run efficiently.

Some powerful states as referred to above tried to maintain a close-knit state and a balance in the several constituents of the state, but the country was partitioned into a large number of kingdoms. In the majority of states there was a distinct sign of disintegration. Theoretically the state was conceived as an organism, different limbs functioning in the interest of the whole body politic, but there was lack of proper harmony among the different constituents of state.

Form of Government: The states in ancient India were divided into two forms, monarchical and republican. The republican form of Government, however, ceased to exist before the Gupta era. In our period we find only the monarchical form of Government.

Let us now pass on to the polity of the state.

III. The King: The king of our period is considered to be the pivot of government and is the centre of all political, military, administrative and judicial activities. Somadeva says that "without him not a single *prakṛti* (constituent) can function properly, however, well it may be equipped."[1] Vādībhasiṁha, another Jain author, says that the king is the very life of living beings and good and evil deeds done against him, certainly affect the fate of his subjects. Disloyalty towards him is indeed a great sin. The king is regarded as the supreme deity for he protects the mortals as well as the gods; the gods are not able to protect even themselves.[2] A real king is he who is the repository of all the merits.[3] A good king is expected to be a man of religious temperament, with good family traditions, endowed with pure character, dignity and valour. His livelihood should be based on righteous means. He should be free to wield his power of wrath and mercy

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[1] *Nītivā.* (*MDJG.*, XXII), p. 221. अस्वामिका प्रकृतयः समृद्धा अपि निस्तरीतुं न शक्नुवन्ति।

[2] *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi*, Canto I, Vs. 46–48:

राजानः प्राणिनां प्राणास्तेषु सत्स्वेव जीवनात् ।
तत्तत्र सदसत्कृत्यं हि लोक एव कृतं भवेत् ॥
एवं राजद्रुहां हन्त सर्वद्रोहित्वसंभवे ।
राजध्रुगेव किं न स्यात्पंचपातकभाजनम् ॥
रक्षन्त्येवात्र राजानो देवान् देहभृतोऽपि च ।
देवास्तु नात्मनोऽप्येवं राजा हि परदेवता ॥

[3] *Nītivā.*, p. 57: यत्र सद्भिराधीयमाना गुणा संक्रामन्ति तद्द्रव्यम् ।

and should be able to display the superiority of himself over others.[1] Under such a king all the constituents of the state conduce to the desired results.[2] Such an ideal *Rājā* or king is considered as an epoch-maker.[3] Thus we see that most of the kings of our period like Harṣa, Yaśovarman, Muñja, Bhoja, Jayacandra Gāhadvāla, Pṛthvīrāja and most of the Caulukyan kings were illustrious instances of the ideal kings.

Education and discipline of the King:

Somadeva has laid emphasis on the discipline of mind and body in the *Vidyāvṛddhasamuddeśa* of his work. He lays down with all seriousness that the real brute on earth is an ignorant person,[4] therefore, knowledge is the prime requisite in all affairs. He prefers anarchy to the rule of an ignoramus. We know very well that all the previous authorities on politics, like Kautilya, Kāmandaka and other lawgivers, had descanted on anarchy as the most terrible of all possible contingencies, but Somadeva, putting aside the tradition, prefers anarchy to the rule of an uneducated king.[5] He further says that a prince, however well born, should not be installed as heir-apparent unless he is otherwise qualified.[6]

A king should get himself taught in four branches of learning which deal with the knowledge of self (*Ānvīkṣikī*), *Trayī* or the knowledge of the four Vedas, Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chanda, Jyotiṣa and Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Mīmānsā, Nyāya and Dharmaśāstra etc., *Vārtā* the science of agriculture, cattle-breeding and commerce and *Daṇḍanīti* or the principles of politics.[7]

Stressing the importance of these four *Vidyas* Somadeva says that one who studies *Ānvīkṣikī* examines with reason the strong and the weak points of the practicable and impracticable and does not despair in calamities and is not spoilt by good fortune. And as an intelligent man he obtains clearness of insight By studying the *Trayi* he becomes exceedingly

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 180: धार्मिकः कुलाचाराभिजनविशुद्धः प्रतापवान्नयानुगतवृत्तिश्च स्वामी। कोपप्रसादयोः स्वतन्त्रता आत्मातिशयवर्धनं वा यस्यास्ति स स्वामी।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 180: स्वामिमूला सर्वाः प्रकृतयो भवन्त्यभिप्रेतप्रयोजना नास्वामिकाः।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 183: राजा कालस्य कारणम्।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 56: नह्यज्ञानादन्यः पशुरस्ति।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 56: वरमराजकं भुवनं न मूर्खो राजा।

[6] *Ibid.*: असंस्काररत्नमिव सुजातमपि राजपुत्रं न नायकपदायामनन्ति etc.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 60: आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिरिति चतस्रो राजविद्याः।
p. 61: आन्वीक्षिक्यध्यात्मविषये त्रयी वेदयज्ञादिषु वार्ता कृषिकर्मादिका दण्डनीतिः साधुपालनदुष्टनिग्रहः।

confident with regard to the duties of the castes and stages of life. And he also knows the whole system of right and wrong. By studying the *Vārtā* properly he can make happy all his subjects and can achieve all the desired objects. By studying the *Daṇḍanīti* he can control his subjects and can make flourishing all the three efforts (*Trivarga*).[1]

Somadeva defines the term *Ānvīkṣikī* in the same way as Kauṭilya: the *Ānvīkṣikī* consists of Sāṇkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata, but he adds that the Bauddha and the Jain systems are opposed to the Veda. Explaining the statement of the author, the commentary says: The Bauddha and Jain śāstras are not included in the *Ānvīkṣikī*, because they are opposed to the Veda. The Lokāyata also is opposed to the Veda, yet it has been included, because it is wanted for the care of the body etc.[2] The necessity of the study of the Lokāyata for the king is explained by Somadeva in the following words. "The vast means for carrying on the business of this world is the Lokāyata. For a king who has studied the doctrines of the Lokāyata strives to root out the thorns (the dangerous elements) of the kingdom. Even the actions of those who are nothing but ascetics, are not irreproachable. He who is given to mercifulness is not capable of preserving even goods that he holds in his hand. Who will not despise one who is only intent on peace of mind? Shame upon the man who cannot show wrath or favour according to his own will and power.[3] He is dead even when he lives, who is not brave against his enemies.[4]

Somadeva has given a detailed description of the *Trayī* and *Vārtā* but most of the points are quite in agreement with those dealt by his two predecessors, *viz.*, Kautilya and Kāmandaka. Regarding the *Daṇḍanīti* (science of Government) he says that the end of it should be to protect the subject and not merely to draw money. In respect of *Daṇḍanīti* he says that the punishment by a king ought to be like the ministration of medicine by a physician. He is a bad king and a bad physician who eagerly look out for disorders with a view to selfish gratification.[5]

These four sciences, besides their intrinsic value, serve to discipline

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 60, lines 56–59.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60: सांख्यं योगो लोकायतं चान्वीक्षकी। बौद्धार्हतोः श्रुतेः प्रतिपक्षत्वात् नान्वीक्षिकीत्वम्।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 76: ऐहिकव्यवहारप्रसाधनपरं लोकायतम्। अधीतलोकायतकर्ता हि राजा राष्ट्रकण्टकानुच्छेत्तुं यतते। न खल्वेकान्ततो यतीनामनवद्यास्ति क्रिया। एकान्तेन करतलगतमपि अर्थं रक्षितुं न क्षमः। प्रशमैकचित्तं को नाम न परिभवति। अपराधकारिषु शमो यतीनां भूषणं न नृपाणाम् etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77: स जीवन्नपि मृत एव यो न विक्रमति प्रतिकूलेषु।

[5] *Ibid.*, p 103: प्रजापालनाय दण्डः प्रणीयते न धर्मार्थम्। स किं राजा वैद्यो वा यः स्वजीवनाय प्रजासु दोषमन्वेषयति।

mind and character, and without training in them a king will perish like a goadless elephant.[1]

Apart from these, Somadeva gives certain other instructions. He warns the king against too much indulgence in *Kāma* (Lust). The king is advised to practise *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma* proportionately without injuring the interests of one another. For him it is the only way to lead a happy life.[2] He also advises the king to remain aloof from certain evils called *vyasanas*. Some of them are the sexual indulgence, intoxication, hunting, gambling, back biting and extravagance. He says that a single *vyasana* is enough to destroy a powerful king, even possessing four kinds of armies, what to say if all of them are combined.[3] A good king should exert to eradicate these evils, keeping himself in the association of the learned men and away from the evil-doers.[4]

Somadeva prescribes only one substitute for learning. He says that even without studying these sciences one can gain knowledge by contacts with the society of learned men[5] who possess a high family tradition and are endowed with high moral character and purity by birth.[6]

Fortunately, during our period we find well educated kings. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* says that Āma, the successor of Yaśovarman, was a well trained king, proficient in all kinds or learning. He was taught by a learned scholar named Vappabhaṭṭisūri.[7] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that Bhoja had studied all the treatises on king-craft, learnt the use of thirty-six weapons and attained the farther shore of the ocean of 72 accomplishments.[8] Some of the princes of our period got their training under the able guidance of ministers. Thus we know that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was trained by the minister Śāntu in state-craft.[9] Several instances can be multiplied from the Jain sources, where the princes are seen to have been imparted training by their fathers and teachers to become ideal kings.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 61: अन[illegible]विद्यावृद्ध [illegible] हि राजा निरंकुशगज इव सद्यो विनश्यति।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33: धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत ततः सुखी स्यात् समं वा त्रिवर्गं सेवेत।

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 179: [illegible]। [illegible] राजा विनश्यति कि [illegible]।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 173: [illegible] व्यसनं प्रतिकुर्वीत।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 62: अनधीयानोऽपि विशिष्टजन[illegible] [illegible]।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 65: वंशवृत्तविद्याभिजनविशुद्धा हि राज्ञामुपाध्यायाः।

[7] *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 82.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, p. 22: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]।

[9] *SJGM.*, II, p. 35: अष्टवार्षिक एव स [illegible] नीतः।

Succession: Somadeva states that a kingless country is better than one occupied by a foolish or uninstructed king. In the same tune he says that no prince should be installed as heir-apparent or successor, howsoever, he may be well born, unless he is otherwise qualified for the great trust.[1]

During our period this rule is maintained to some extent. We know from the *Harṣa-carita* that Harṣa was well qualified and was made king of Thāṇeśwar; similarly the Paramāra Muñja, on account of the good qualities of his nephew, Bhoja, appointed him as his successor.[2] Likewise, the Caulukya Durlabharāja installed his nephew Bhīma I and he too installed his second son Karṇa instead of his first son Kṣemarāja.[3] Kumārapāla is very well known to have won the throne due to his ability to become a good ruler.[4]

Somadeva prescribes the following order regarding succession. After the death of the king, his sons have the royal right to inherit the throne; in the absence of them, the brothers, and then step-brothers, and thereafter uncles and then the members of the family. In the absence of all of them the daughter's son and then a qualified outsider may be regarded as successor.[5] Thus we find that this rule was followed during our period. The history of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, Nāḍol and Jālor furnishes us with a number of instances.

The succession, however, in our period was mostly limited to the family and it was regarded as hereditary. The peculiar feature appears to be that there was no law of primogeniture to regulate succession. Thus the Caulukya Karṇa succeeded his father when his elder brother was alive.[6]

In the choice of a successor, sometimes the wish of departing king was respected. Thus, the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* states that, when Vīradhavala was dying, he expressed his desire to give the throne to his son Vīsaladeva and not to his brother Vīrama, for he feared that his father Lavaṇaprasāda might deprive his son of his right of succession to the throne.[7] Sometimes the question of succession was disputed and the choice fell against the wish of departing king. For this we have a glaring instance of Kumārapāla. It is said that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was totally against Kumārapāla and he wanted even to kill him. But the choice was given to

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[1] *Nītivā.*, p. 56.

[2] *Tilakamañjarī*, V. 43.

[3] See *supra*, p. 241, Chap. on the Caulukyas.

[4] See *supra*, p. 265.

[5] *Nītivā.*, p. 249: सुतसोदरसपत्नपितृव्य दौहित्रागन्तुकेषु पूर्वपूर्वाभावे भवत्युत्तरस्य राज्यपदावाप्तिः।

[6] See *supra*, pp. 241–42.

[7] *SJGM.*, II, p. 66.

Kumārapāla against his wish, and it was due to the support of the ministry or a powerful party at the court.[1] Another instance is that of the Paramāra Arjunavarman who was succeeded by Devapāla of the line of the Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman of the same family. In this choice the ministry or the court party might have had a strong hand though we do not know that it was against the wish of Arjunavarman.[2] These facts, besides proving that there was no law of primogeniture, prove that the support of either a powerful party at the court or of the ministers always counted much in the matter of succession.

In the case of minority of the heir-apparent we find the queen mother holding the rein of the kingdom. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* informs us that Nāikādevi, the queen mother of Bāla Mūlarāja (II), was in charge of the government and she gallantly fought a battle with the Muhammadans.[3] The *Pṛthvirāja-Vijaya* informs us that Kāñcanadevī, the mother of Pṛthvīrājā, transacted the business of the kingdom with the help of the minister Kainvāsa (Kadambavāsa) in the minority of Pṛthvīrāja.[4]

Titles of Kings and Queens:

In the Mauryan period we hear of titles like *Rājan, Mahārāja* and *Kumāra* applicable to the kings and princes, but in the Gupta age we have several titles which show that these titles were multiplied in course of time. In our period the same high-sounding titles as in the Gupta period have been found. Right from Harṣa to Guhilotas, the independent kings who happened to rise to paramountcy in the sense that they commanded the allegiance of a few feudatories used to take the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (the most worshipful master), *Mahārājādhirāja* (supreme king of kings), *Parameśvara* (supreme lord), and *Samastarājāvali samalaṅkṛta* (adorned by the row of kings). Thus the Devagarha Jain inscription of Bhoja Pratīhāra informs us that Bhoja assumed the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*.[5] The colophons of the Jain MSS of the Cāhamānas, Caulukyas and Guhilotas also reveal the same conclusion. These titles, however, invested the king with a divine prestige and right to rule over the people.

The queens of these kings were generally entitled as *devī* or *rājñī*. For example, Mayaṇallādevī was the name of the queen of Karṇa Caulukya.[6]

[1] See *supra*, p. 265.
[2] See *supra*, p. 117.
[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97.
[4] See *supra*, p. 136.
[5] *EI.*, IV, p. 309.
[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 54.

Somalladevī was the name of the queen of Ajayarāja Cāhamāna.[1] Udayamatī *rājñi* was the queen of Bhīma I.[2] From this it appears that the queens of our period did not assume any high-sounding honorific titles. In the Jain literary works the chief queen of the king is called *Rājamahiṣī* or *Paṭṭarājñi*, but we have no confirmation of this from the epigraphical records.

The sphere of influence of the queens, however, was limited to the palace only.

The Position of the King:

As regards the position of the king Somadeva says that the king is a great god; he bows only to his ancestors and teachers: all else have to salute him.[3] It is difficult to disobey his resolutions.[4] But a king should always be willing to receive advice and ministers should be prepared to offer sound advice.[5] These statements of Somadeva along with the honorific title assumed by the kings of our period show that these were regarded by the public as divinities. It should be understood in this connection that such high veneration was due to the place he occupied and not to his person.

Coronation:

Before a new king was installed on the throne certain rituals and celebrations took place. *Abhiṣeka* or anointing was the first among them. The Jains, though they have no faith in the Vedic rituals, prescribe the simple process of anointing. The water from the Ganges, Sindhu and other rivers (sacred only in the belief of the Brāhmanas) mixed with camphor and sandal and with the essence of many kinds of flowers was poured on the head of a king by other kings, feudatories, ministers, merchants, princes and other respectable citizens. The members of the eighteen guilds performed the anointing of the king's feet only.[6] Thus, the *Mūrdhābhiṣiktas* only were regarded as the real kings of our period. On this auspicious occasion, the capital was astir with songs, music and dance. This ceremony sometimes was arranged by the retiring king and sometimes by the court party. The king had certain royal insignia like *catra* (royal umbrella) and *cāmara* (a bushy tail of Chamar) and *Siṁhāsana* (throne).[7]

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[1] *EI.*, XXVI, pp. 84–112, V. 14.

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 54.

[3] *Nītivā.*, p. 63: राजा हि परमं दैवतं नासौ कस्मैचित्प्रणमत्यन्यत्र गुरुजनेभ्यः।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 181: राजाज्ञा हि सर्वेषामलंघ्यः प्राकारः।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 124: स खलु नो राजा यो मंत्रिणोऽतिक्रम्य वर्तेत।

[6] *Ādi-purāna*, Canto XVI, Vs. 223–230.

[7] *SJGM.*, I, p. 20: छत्रचामरादिराजचिह्नानि विमुच्य।

Personal safety of the King:

We have seen what an important place was occupied by the king in the body politic of the state; therefore his safety, corporal as well as mental, was the chief duty of the state. Somadeva says that the safety of the monarch is the safety of the state; therefore, the king should employ as his personal attendants those persons whose fathers and grandfathers had been royal servants, those who bear close relationship to the king, those who are well trained and loyal and those who have rendered good services to the king. Foreigners who have not been honoured and the natives who have been once punished and re-employed should not be appointed to protect the king for their mind might change at times; even a mother is seen behaving like a *rākṣasī*.[1] The king should be protected first from women, then from claimants (*dāyādas*) and then the sons (princes).[2] Somadeva, in the chapter of the *Rājarakṣāsamuddeśa* deals with dangers coming from the above three. He depicts woman as the source of evil and as a bundle of craft and hypocrisy.

Duties of the King:

The monarchs of our period were not autocrats. They were fully conscious of their responsibilities and duties to the state and their subjects. The realization of *trivarga* was an ideal of a state[3] and to attain this they persevered the ideal before themselves. The king was advised to follow *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma* in their moderate limitation without injuring the interests of each other.[4]

The first duty of the king was religious. Most of the kings of our period were followers of one or another religion of the time. They spent a large sum of money in the erection of temples out of devotion. But the most striking feature of our period is that they were never hostile to religions other than their own. They were indeed tolerant in their religious policies.

Somadeva gives a full exposition of the religious duties of a king without deviating from the Brahmanical point of view. He says that the king

has to fulfil his religious duties such as *Darśa-pūrnamāsa* and other Brahmanical rites. He should apply himself to the study both of *ānvīkṣikī* and *trayī*. But he advised the king to acknowledge *svadharma* for different castes and stages of life. By protecting the *svadharma* of his subjects the king fulfils *trivarga*.[1] The king is the monitor of those who transgress their *svadharma*.[2] *Svadharma* is the particular duty of each individual, in every group. Though Somadeva on the whole acknowledges *svadharma*, yet he enumerates *samana-dharma*, the duties common to all castes and groups. These are kindness, truthfulness, abstaining from the property of others, controlling one's desires, avoiding marriage against the order (of caste) and 'chastity with regard to forbidden women.'[3] The king's duty is to promote these practices among his subjects. Protecting the *svadharma* and the *samana-dharma* of his subjects, the king receives one sixth of the fruits of the religious merits of his subjects.[4]

The next set of duties of the king is political or administrative, that is, the protection of life and property is the main duty of the king. The king is bound to see that order rightly prevails in society. He says: He is a king who takes the place of Indra towards the well disposed and the place of Yama against the ill-disposed. For, the king's duty is to punish the wicked and protect the learned and well behaved, not shaving his head or wearing matted hair.[5] The king should adopt all the possible measures to protect the world, that alone is counted his true merit of kingship.[6] To ensure life and order, he should wield his *daṇḍa* neither sternly nor tenderly but impartially.[7] Injustice is never to be tolerated, since it ruins all.[8] Somadeva enumerates the persons who hinder the prosperity of the people and considers them as sources of apprehension to the subject. They are the thieves and robbers, state surveyors and evaluators, foresters and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 87: स्वधर्मसंकरः प्रजानां राजानं त्रिवर्गेणोपसन्धत्ते।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88: स्वधर्ममतिक्रमतां सर्वेषां पार्थिवो गुरुः।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 85: आनृशंस्यमृषाभाषित्वपरस्वनिवृत्तिरिच्छानियमः प्रतिलोमविवाहो निषिद्धासु च स्त्रीषु ब्रह्मचर्यमिति सर्वेषां समानो धर्मः।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 88: परिपालको हि राजा सर्वेषां षष्ठांशमवाप्नोति।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 42: योऽनुकूलप्रतिकूलयोरिन्द्रयमस्थानं स राजा। राज्ञो हि दुष्टनिग्रहः शिष्टपरिपालनं च धर्मः न पुनः शिरोमुण्डनं जटाधारणादिकं।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 42: राज्ञः पृथ्वीपालनोचितं कर्म राज्यं।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 102: यथादोषं दण्डप्रणयनं दण्डनीतिः।

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 99: अन्यायोपेक्षा सर्वं विनाशयति।

guards, state officers, hoarders and profiteers.[1] If the king commands prestige and exercises a certain amount of sternness he can render them harmless.[2] It is the foremost duty of a king to deal with them ruthlessly.

Another duty of king is to protect the people from the calamities of all sorts. We learn from the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* that Vīsaladeva Vaghela averted a famine by timely help.[3] The king also defended the country from foreign invasions and offered protection to the people from hostile incursions of his enemies.[4]

Yet another duty of the king was to patronise arts, education, etc. We learn that the Paramāra kings from Muñja to Jaitugideva were the patrons of learning.[5] Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla were the great promoters of learning and arts.

In short kings of this period did their best to achieve the happiness of their subjects which ultimately meant their own happiness and prosperity.

In performing their duties the kings are advised to levy taxes according to the condition of the country, to speak words according to the occasion, to spend money according to the state income and to show their pomp and show according to their wealth and might.[6]

Rights and Privileges of the King:

Somadeva says that king is the incarnation of *tripuruṣamūrti*, therefore, he is the visible god in the world. In his youth (*Kaumāra*) he is like God *Brahman* receiving the education in Gurukulas. After consecration he becomes like God *Nārāyaṇa* pleasing the world with his virtues and, at the time of expeditions, he looks like God *Pinākapāṇi* (*Śaṅkara*). Thus the king enjoys a high status and dignity. He takes the place of Indra towards his favourites and the place of Yama against the wicked. He is advised to maintain his prestige and claims to be honoured.[7]

Thus, we find in our period, that the king had full powers over the kingdom and his subjects. He, no doubt, ruled over his territory with the help and advice of a council of ministers who were his immediate advisers, but the ultimate responsibility of affairs as a whole rested with him. He

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 99: चौरचरटमन्नपधमनराजवल्लभाटविकतलारक्षाक्षशालिकनियोगिकूटवार्धुषिका हि राष्ट्रस्य कण्टकाः।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 100: प्रतापवति राज्ञि निष्ठुरे सति न भवन्ति राष्ट्रकण्टकाः।

[3] *SJGM.*, II, p. 80.

[4] *SJGM.*, X, p. 30.

[5] See *supra*, pp. 90-118, Chap. on the Paramāras.

[6] *Nītivā.*, p. 271: देशानुरूपः करो ग्राह्यः प्रतिपाद्यानुरूपं वचनमुदाहर्तव्यम् आयानुरूपः व्ययः कार्यः। ऐश्वर्यानुरूपो प्रसादो विधेयः।

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 315-317.

had all the despotic powers in deciding the policy in war or peace. He appointed all governors, generals and other important civil and military officers who were responsible to him alone. He had every right to deal with the treasonous officers and subjects without the least delay. Thus we see that Kumārapāla punished Vikramasiṁha the Paramāra of Candrāvatī[1] and Hammīra degraded and blinded Dharmasiṁha.[2] He also distributed honorific offices and favours in recognition of meritorious services or literary and artistic works of distinction. We hear that Muñja conferred on Dhanapāla the title of *Sarasvatī*[3] and Kumārapāla conferred the title of *Kalikāla-sarvajña* on Hemacandra and on Ambaḍa the title *Rājapitāmaha*.[4] The kings of our period had also certain rights to introduce new reforms and eliminate taxes, depriving the state of a large income. Thus, Kumārapāla announced non-killing to all beings (*amāríghoṣaṇa*) and withdrew the rights of the state to confiscate the property of those who died childless.[5] Jayasiṁha Siddharāja removed the tax known as *Bāhuloḍa* which is said to have yielded 72 lakhs of rupees to the state.[6]

Though the king had so many rights yet he was advised to seek the counsel of his ministers and other high officers in matters of administration and in a state of emergency. It is also said that he should act according to the established laws and customs of the country.

Daily Routine:

Somadeva, in the chapter of the *Divisānuṣṭhāna* of his work *Nītivākyāmṛta*, describes the general rules of daily routine of a layman which consists of ethical teachings.[7] But some glimpses of the king's daily routine are obtained from the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla and the *Kumārapāla-Pratibodha* of Somaprabhasūri also. From the description it appears that the king devoted the first quarter of the day in personal purification and devotion to gods and religious teachers and then he granted the interviews to all important persons and officers like religious Brahmanas, prime minister, secretaries, kings, feudatories, kinsmen and friends and other citizens. He held some sort of a private *darbar* with them. Here the king dealt with important and secret business of the state, discussed the matter with foreign

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[1] See *supra* p. 191.
[2] See *supra* p. 145.
[3] See *supra* p. 94.
[4] See *supra* pp. 271 and 281.
[5] See *supra* p. 279 ff.
[6] See *supra* p. 258.
[7] *Nītivā.*, pp. 251–258.

ambassadors and gratified dependants and admirers. After this, on certain occasions, he visited the temples of the city and inspected the departments of public works. He returned at mid-day to his palace and, after giving food and alms to mendicants, took his meal surrounded by friends and pleasure companions. Then he retired to his picture galleries (*danta valabhikā*) for enjoyment and relaxation. There he enjoyed music and poetic talks. In the afternoon he attended the general court (*āsthānamaṇḍapa*) where he transacted the business of state, and also interviewed the foreign kings and gave *darśan* to the general public who came to see him. Sometimes, purely as a part of royal duty, he attended wrestling matches, elephant fights and other such pastimes. Thus he passed the day and then retired to sleep at last.[1]

Various checks and balances:

Although the king was practically supreme in the administration of the state, the established laws of the land exercised considerable influence on royal despotism. Somadeva says that king should always be willing to receive advice and the minister should be prepared to offer sound advice. The king is advised not to outgo the counsel of his ministers for it is impolitic for a king to neglect the counsels of his ministers. Such a king will soon find himself overwhelmed by foes. His obstinacy will plunge him into ruin.[2] These statements certainly show that the king in his administration is bound to take help of his ministers.

Next, the kings of our period always respected the traditional laws of the land which were sacred and inviolable. If a king failed in his duty and acted in contravention, a conflict between the king and the people was inevitable.[3] The next check over the king seems to be the feudal nobility and prominent persons of the state who, backed by the people, could defy the tyrannical rule of the king by raising an armed rebellion.

Another check that influenced the king's policies, was the public opinion which was generally conveyed to the king through the state officials and spies. Sometimes, he himself went out to know the public opinion. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* mentions three such kings *viz.*, Bhoja Paramāra, Kumārapāla and Jayasiṁha Siddharāja who were always anxious to know the public opinion.[4] By this, the king always remained conscious of the

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[1] *Tilakamañjarī* (Kāvyamālā 85), pp. 62–71; *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, Canto pp. 422–443.

[2] *Nītivā.*, p. 57, sutra 39.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 108: दुष्प्रणीतो हि दण्डः कामक्रोधाभ्यामज्ञानाद्वा सर्वविद्वेषं करोति।

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 48, fn. 75.

rightful conduct of kingly duties. Moreover, an extensive decentralisation of government functions and powers invested in the village councils, town committees and district boards, also served as a check on king's royal prerogatives.

Abdication:

The king of ancient India in his old age generally preferred to abdicate the throne in favour of his heir and spent the rest of his life in religious devotions. The Jain sources have certainly recorded various cases of such abdications as occurred in our period. Thus the *Prabhāvakacarita* records that the king Āma, son of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, abdicated the throne in favour of his son Dunduka and devoted his life in religious devotions.[1] The *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* says that Durlabharāja abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew Bhīma and devoted his remaining life in religious pursuits.[2] Similar was the case with Bhīma I who abdicating himself gave the throne to his second son Karna.[3] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* also states that Jaitrasiṁha, the father of Hammīra, gave over the charge of the state to him and himself went to live in the forest.[4]

Dethronement:

A tyrant or vicious king, at times, was degraded or dethroned. Although the normal checks on king's prerogatives were either unexecuted or were altogether unknown during our period, yet a few cases can be cited in which kings were deposed. Cāmuṇḍarāja, the son of Mūlarāja (I) Caulukya, is said to have been deposed by his sister Vācinidevī who found him sexually very loose and gave the throne to his son Vallabharāja.[5] Kumārapāla, as a sovereign ruler, dethroned his feudatory Vikramasiṁha, the Paramāra of Ābu, who is said to have taken side with his enemy, namely, the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja.[6]

Princes and other members of Royal Family:

The princes were generally called *rājaputra, kumāra, nṛpakumāra, mahārājakumāra* in the Jain literature and inscriptions. Thus from one of the Jain inscriptions of the Nadol Cāhamāna we know that Kīrtipāla was called *rājaputra* and in another inscription his sons Lakhanapāla and

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1 *SJGM.*, XIII, p. 108, V. 709.
2 *DV.*, VIII, V. 20.
3 *Ibid.*, IX, V. 74.
4 *HMK.*, VIII, 54–57 and 106–108.
5 *DV.*, VII, V. 31, commentary.
6 *PCA.*, p. 202, Vs. 576–580.

Abhayapāla were known as *rājâputras*.[1] In the *Tilakamañjarī* Harivāhana is called *nṛpakumāra*.[2] A Jain colophon refers to Śāraṅgadeva as *mahārāja-kumāra*.[3] The crown prince, after finishing his study, was made in-charge of an office to get experience in administration. We have certain instances from the Jain inscriptions and colophons where the princes shared in the administration of their father.[4] The eldest son of a king who was generally regarded as heir-apparent was called *yuvarāja*, while others were known by other terms. The younger sons were sometimes granted certain portions of the state for their maintenance.[5] Queens and princesses are seldom known to have taken part in the government. But sometimes we find that the Dowager queens assumed the reins of administration or led the army in the battle. Nāikīdevī, the mother of Mūlarāja II, may be cited here as an instance.[6]

King's Personal Officers:

The *Tilakamañjarī* presents a picture of the management of the Royal household. The palace and its surroundings (*rājakula*) were in charge of a trusted and experienced officer known as *saudhapāla*. The entrance in and exit from the palace and royal camp were controlled by the *dvārapāla*. The officers and interview seekers were taken before royal presence by an officer known as *pratīhāra* or *mahāpratīhāra*. The king had a body-guard of his own called *aṅgarakṣaka*. The officer in-charge of the royal treasury and jewels was *ratnakośādhyakṣa*. The officer of the bed-chamber was known as *śayyāpāla*. The officer in-charge of the gardens was called *Udyānapāla*. The king had a special officer who was called *rājavallabha* in the *Upamitibhava-prapañca-kathā* (p. 344), perhaps, he was equivalent to our modern private secretary. Some minor attendants were *vetradhārī*, *catra-cāmara-grāhaka*, *tāmbūla-vāhaka*, and *kañcukī*, in charge of harems.[7]

Functions of the King:

(1) *Executive:* The king of our period was considered to be the supreme head of the State. None of the constituents could work properly without him.[8] Under him all the *prakṛtis* worked well and produced all the

[1] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, pp. 210, 231.
[2] P. 88.
[3] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 128.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 128.
[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 97.
[7] *Tilakamañjarī*, pp. 14, 15, 63, 73.
[8] *Nītiv.*, p. 150: अस्वामिका प्रकृतयः समृद्धा अपि निस्तर्तुं न शक्नुवन्ति।

desired ends. He appointed the well versed in their respective posts.[1] Ministers were not allowed to undertake any enterprise without his order.[2] Thus, all the executive powers were invested in the king. He looked into state finance, collected dues and levied taxes. He also received petitions and sometimes issued orders for the guidance of his subjects. He punished the criminals and promulgated administrative reforms for the well-being of the people in general.[3] He had under his direct control all the envoys and he gathered information from spies.[4]

(2) *Military*: Somadeva says that king should inspect his army with his own eyes; otherwise he loses prosperity and maintenance of order.[5] The king of our period led his army in the field of baṭtle and mostly the important campaigns were conducted by the king himself. His presence in the battlefield was the source of inspiration.[6] The king was usually in the van where he served as an example of personal valour and gave encouragement to his men in arms.[7] He also appointed all military chiefs to their respective posts and bestowed prizes or promotions for their meritorious services.[8] He also offered the maintenance to the families of those who died fighting in the battlefield.[9] He was advised not to give the charge of military to only one general for he might create great trouble on a suitable occasion.[10]

(3) *Judicial*: The king was the supreme court of appeal. He was the final authority in judicial matters. Nobody could overrule his judgment.[11] The king like Yama considered the punishment for culprits.[12] The king

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 189: यो यत्र कर्मणि कुशलस्तं तत्र नियोजयेत्।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189: अनिवेद्य भर्तुर्न किंचिदारम्भं कुर्यात्।

[3] See *supra* pp. 105 and 279.

[4] *Nītivā.*, p. 172.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 214: स्वयमवेक्षणीयं सैन्यं परैरवेक्षयन्नर्थतंत्राभ्यां परिहीयते।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 369: स्वामिनः पुरस्सरणं युद्धेऽश्वमेधसमम्।

[7] *PC.*, p. 59; *DV.*, Canto XVIII.

[8] *Nītivā.*, p. 364: संग्रामधृतेषु यायिषु सत्कृत्य विसर्गः। See *supra* p. 343

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 369: राजा राजकार्येषु मृतानां सन्ततिमपोषयन्नृणभागी स्यात्, साधुनोपचर्यते-तंत्रेण।

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 368: एकं बलस्याधिकृतं न कुर्यात्। भेदापराधेनैकः समर्थो जनयति महान्तमनर्थम्।

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 302: ग्रामे पुरे वा वृत्तो व्यवहारस्तस्य विवादे तथा राजानमुपेयात्, राज्ञा दृष्टे व्यवहारे नास्त्यनुबन्धः।

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 295: राजा त्वपराधलिंगितानां समवर्ती तत्फलमनुभावयति।

had to select such juries who never indulged in greed and favouritism.[1] Thus, Somadeva informs us that the king administered justice in consultation with juries. The king administered justice according to the nature of an offence. He was like a measure-stick which showed heavy and light weights accordingly.[2]

The above account regarding the king corroborates our theory that the king was the pivot around which rotated all the activities of the kingdom.

IV. Council of Ministers (Mantripariṣad):

The *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva along with certain Jain literary works and epigraphical data sheds some light on the nature and procedure of the council of ministers in our period. The *Tilakamañjarī* had a technical term for the council as *mantrimaṇḍala.*[3] Somadeva says that the king is bound to follow the dictates of the council, otherwise in the eye of the constitutional law he would cease to be the king.[4] Thus we see Mūlarāja Caulukya consulted his ministers at the time of war with the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja and Bārapa.[5] Although the rulers of our period were not assisted by any popular assembly or constitutional ministers in the administration of the kingdom, they, however, had their ministers appointed by them who held their offices till the pleasure of the king. All the authorities on law have laid a great stress on the importance of *mantripariṣad.* Somadeva says that without the council the king becomes an autocrat; he plans for ruin due to his hasty actions.[6] With the help of the council of ministers, the king can achieve all the wishful objects.[7]

The Composition of the Council:

During our period we find frequent mentions of prime ministers and ministers of the king in the Jain literature and contemporary inscriptions. They have been called *mahāmatyas, sacivas, rājavṛddhas,*[8] *buddhi-sacivas,*[9]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 296: लोभपक्षपाताभ्यामयथार्थवादिनः सभ्याः सभापतेः सद्यो मानार्थहानिं लभेरन् ।
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295: गुणदोषयोस्तुलादण्डसमो राजा स्वगुणदोषाभ्यां जन्तुषु गौरवलाघवे ।
[3] Published in the Kāvyamāla 85 (N.S. Press), p. 16.
[4] *Nītivā.*, p. 114: मंत्रपूर्वः सर्वोऽप्यारम्भः क्षितिपतीनाम् ।
p. 124: स खलु नो राजा यो मंत्रिणोऽतिक्रम्य वर्तेत ।
[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 16: सचिवैः सह विमृशन् तैरूचे ।
[6] *Nītivā.*, p. 149: स्वतन्त्रः सहसाकारित्वात् विनाशयति ।
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 130: बहुसहाये राज्ञि प्रसीदन्ति सर्वे एव मनोरथाः ।
[8] *PC.*, p. 78: राजवृद्धानामारोचमानः ।
[9] *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 33.

kārya-sacivas and *amātyavarya*. This shows that there was definitely a council of ministers, the chief of which was called *mahāmātya*. Somadeva, dealing with the strength of the council, puts the number of ministers at three, five or seven. Evidently he is thinking of very small states or feudatory domains of his time. We learn from the *Hammira-mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri that the *mantripariṣad* of Hammīra was composed of eight members.[1] We know from the *Śukranīti* and other works on Indian Polity that ministry should consist of ten, twelve, sixteen and twenty councillors. Perhaps, they were thinking of a big state. Somadeva, like Kauṭilya, does not want a council of a large number of ministers.[2] He advances reasons by saying that king should not employ one minister alone, for, a single minister proceeds without restraint and in cases of complicated issues he remains helpless. In deliberating with two ministers the king may be overpowered by their combined action or imperilled by their mutual dissension. Ministers large in number show only their skill and due to their jealousy the king may not arrive at any decision. The king should take to that work alone which may ensure good results, without involving him into any risk or loss. In accordance with the nature of the work he may, whenever he deems it proper, deliberate with one or two ministers.[3]

Co-operation among the ministers is considered to be the best policy of the council, for it will prove a strong pillar to the state.[4] Experts in different affairs of the state should be appointed in their respective posts,[5] for this would lead to a good counsel and decisive action. It is further emphasised that ministers should not be fools. What can blind men see? How can the blind lead the blind? Sometimes it may be that the counsel of fools accidentally leads to success, but after all it is a dangerous policy.[6] To entrust the reins of a kingdom to fools is to raise an axe to kill oneself.[7]

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[1] *HMK.*, X, pp. 33-34.

[2] *Nītivā.*, p. 128: त्रयः पंच सप्त वा मंत्रिणस्तैः कार्याः ।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 127: एको मन्त्री न कर्तव्यः । एको हि मंत्री निरवग्रहश्चरति च कार्येषु कृच्छ्रेषु । द्वावपि मंत्रिणौ न कार्यौ द्वौ मंत्रिणौ संहतौ राज्यं विनाशयतः । निगृहीतौ तौ तं विनाशयतः । बहवो मंत्रिणः परस्परं स्वमतीरुत्कर्षयन्ति । यद्बहुगुणमनपायबहुलं भवति तत्कार्यमनुष्ठेयम् । यथोक्तगुणसमवायिन्येकस्मिन् युगले वा मंत्रिणि न कोपि दोषः ।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 129: अवार्यवीर्यौ धुर्यौ किन्न महति भारे नियुज्यते ।

[5] *Ibid*, p. 199: यो यत्र कर्मणि कुशलस्तं तत्र नियोजयेत् ।

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133: श्राद्ध इवाश्रोत्रियस्य न मंत्रे मूर्खस्याधिकारोऽस्ति । किं नामान्धः पश्येत् । किमन्धेनाकृष्यमाणोऽन्धः पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यते । तदन्धवर्तकीयम् काकतालीयम् वा यन्मूर्खमंत्रात्कार्यसिद्धिः ।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 135: स्ववधाय कृत्योत्थापनमिव मूर्खेषु राज्यभारारोपणम् ।

The councils of the period generally consisted of the king and his prime minister and other councillors like *purohita sandhivigrahikāmātya, senāpati, mahākṣapatalika*, and *yuvarāja*. But Somadeva opposes the inclusion of *senāpati* or military officers in the council. He says, 'Military authorities should not be authorities in political conncils,' for he thinks that 'war-mongering leaders have a natural hankering after war.'[1] In advocating this view he has represented, perhaps, the contemporary politics. None the less, the *senāpati* or head of the military was one of the most important officers. He sometimes held the post of Governor of some newly conquered province. The *sāndhivigrahika* was also another notable functionary. On behalf of the king he signed the treaties and conducted the whole foreign negotiations.[2] The priest or *purohita* was another great personage; his advice was not to be transgressed. The priest was instrumental in warding off natural or supernatural calamities. One of his chief duties was the training of the prince.[3] The prince or heir-apparent of our period is occasionally seen participating in state administration. He, therefore, was also included in the council.

Qualification of the Councillors:

Though ministers were appointed by the king, the choice of ministers was by no means an easy job. Somadeva says that great has always been the power of ministers and cites Viṣṇugupta (Kauṭilya) who raised Candragupta to the position of an emperor as a case in point.[4] In the selection of the councillors, therefore, a king should exercise the utmost discretion.[5] They should be chosen from amongst Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.[6] They must, however, be possessed of the following qualities: They should be native (*svadeśajam*) by birth and not foreigners, for natives have a tendency to love their country. Love of one's own country is the highest and most tenacious of all prejudices.[7] Foreigners should not be entrusted with matter of finance and protection of life, for, after staying for

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 236: शस्त्रोपजीविनो न मंत्राधिकारिणः स्युः। शस्त्रोपजीविनां कलहमन्तरेण भक्तमपि भुक्तं न जीर्यति।

[2] *SJGM.*, I, p. 30, Dāmar in the *Bhoja-Bhīma-prabandha.*

[3] *Nītivā.*, p. 160–161

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 103: तथा चानुश्रूयते विष्णुगुप्तानुग्रहादनधिकृतोऽपि किल चन्द्रगुप्तः साम्राज्य-पदमवापेति।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 107: मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतीनां यो युक्तमुक्तं करोति स आहार्यबुद्धिः।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 108: ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशामेकतमम्।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 108: स्वदेशजम्, समस्तपक्षपातेषु स्वदेशपक्षपातो महान्।

a while they abruptly run away or become adversaries.[1] Councillors should be of a pure character for lack of character vitiates all personal merits and qualities.[2] They should be born of high family for the low born person never feels shy after doing misdeeds.[3] They must be free from all carnal passions (*avyasanin*), for passionate councillors are like mischievous elephants.[4] They should be reliable and courageous (*avyabhicārin*) for persons who cannot stand at the time of adversity are useless.[5] They must be endowed with all theoretical and practical knowledge (*adhītākhila-vyavahāra-tantram*), for what is the use of those who do not know the interest of the king and cannot remove his difficulties.[6] They should also understand the military problems (*astrajñam*), for how can they protect the kingdom if they do not possess knowledge of their own protection ?[7]

Somadeva, however, does not prescribe any tests to ascertain the character of councillors. However, these are general rules for the selection of councillors. But in the selection of particular councillors like *sandhi-vigrahika, purohita, senāpati* and others, Somadeva has laid some special tests. Regarding a *sandhivigrahika* or an ambassador he says that the knowledge of grammar and logic, influential position, expressiveness, power of fluent talking, genius, discretionary power, knowledge of most of the languages and alphabets, knowledge of time, place and *varnāśrama*, intelligence in rapid reading and writing, are the essential qualities of an ambassador.[8]

In describing the qualifications of *purohita*, Somadeva follows Kauṭilya. He says that the *purohita* should be a person whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated in the Vedas and the six Aṅgas, is skilful in reading portents, providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government and who is obedient and who can prevent calamities, providential or human.[9]

Regarding the *senāpati* he says that he should be born of a high family, pure in character, endowed with genius, devotion, truthfulness, purity and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 186: नागन्तुकेष्वर्थाधिकारः प्राणाधिकारो वास्ति यस्ते स्थित्वा गन्तारोऽपकर्तारो वा।
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 108, sutra 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 109, sutra 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 109, sutra 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 109, sutra 10.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 110: sutra 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 110: sutra 13.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 379.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

valour, influential, possessing a large family, knowing how to use his policies and devices, trained in all sorts of vehicles, weapons, battles, alphabets languages. He should know his position as well as the position of enemies possess a giant and healthy body, beloved by all officers, be faithful to his master and to the interest of the country and be able to forbear all sorts of troubles and exertions, undaunted by the men either of his own acquaintance or his enemies.[1]

Councillors Hereditary:

One striking feature of our period is that the office of the councillors, sometimes designed as *amātya* and sometimes *mantri*, was generally hereditary. Generally their fathers and grand-fathers had been royal servants. Thus we find Vimala, the *daṇḍanātha* of the Caulukya Bhīma I, had his long heritage from the time of Vanarāja.[2] Vāgbhaṭa, Āmbaḍa and Mahādeva the ministers of Kumārapāla were the sons of the former ministers. Someśvara, the *purohita* of Bhīma II claimed his parentage in the service of the Caulukyas.

Function of Cabinet:

Somadeva says that every enterprise of the king should be preceded by deliberation with councillors.[3] He, like Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka, sets forth the pertinent duties of an intricate subject, to arrive at a correct decision on a known subject, to reinforce what is decided, to eradicate the doubts in a subject of doubtful nature and to get full knowledge of the implications of a subject which is only partially known.[4] He further says that the failure of king's policy is the failure of the councillors' policy,[5] so it is enjoined on the councillors to keep strict secrecy with regard to the discussions and decisions of the council, whatever they might be.[6] Somadeva prescribes certain rules and regulations to maintain the secrecy. He forbids the holding of a council in open sky or in the places which echo to human voices.[7] The persons whose relations have been offended should not be con-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[2] See *supra*, p. 240, chapter on the Caulukyas.

[3] *Nītivā.*, p. 114: मंत्रपूर्वः सर्वोऽप्यारम्भः क्षितिपतीनाम् ।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 114: अनुपलब्धस्य ज्ञानमुपलब्धस्य निश्चयो निश्चितस्य बलाधानमर्थद्वैधस्य संशयच्छेदनमेकदेशलब्धस्याशेषोपलब्धिरिति मंत्रसाध्यमेतत् ।

[5] *Ibid*, p. 124: राज्ञोऽनुग्रहविग्रहावेव मंत्रिणामनुग्रहविग्रहौ ।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 117: आकार्यसिद्धेः रक्षितव्यो मंत्रः ।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 116: आकाशे प्रतिशब्दवति चाश्रये मंत्रं न कुर्यात् ।

sulted.[1] Uninvited persons should not be allowed to stay at the time of deliberations, for it is on record that counsel was sometimes betrayed even by parrots and minas.[2] The trouble arising from the leakage of counsel is seldom controlled.[3] Celerity in execution is a safeguard of secrecy. The resolutions should be put as soon as possible into action. Action, indeed, is the very essence of deliberation. Mere knowledge of medicine does not cure the disease.[4]

Changes in the attitude, changes in countenance due to anger and love, intoxication, carelessness and talking in sleep and other evil habits are the causes of the betrayal of deliberations.[5]

At the time of deliberation there should be no hot discussions or random talks.[6]

Decisions unanimously reached and exercised with discretion easily lead towards the achievement of the object.[7]

The essential duty of the councillors is to offer wholesome counsel. Let them not flatter or mislead their master. The king on his part should take their advice, for he is a bad king who neglects the advice of his councillors.[8]

In formulating a theory of a fivefold aspect of *mantra* or counsel, Somadeva follows Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. He says that the first aspect is the preliminary part of beginning an undertaking. This is, in other words, to find out what amount of support would be forthcoming once a plan was mooted. The second is the means to an end. This is how to tackle the problem and pool the resources in man-power and wealth and consider the best use to which they might be put. The third is the proper appropriation of the means according to place and time, for certain undertakings would bear fruit in a specified area and at a specific time. The fourth is, the counsel should remove the difficulties which would come in the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 118: अनायुक्तो मन्त्रकाले न तिष्ठेत् तथा चानुश्रूयते शुंकसारिकाभ्यामन्यैश्च तिर्यग्भिर्मंत्रभेद: ।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 118: न तैः सह मंत्रं कुर्यात्तेषां पक्षीयेष्वपकुर्यात् ।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 118: मंत्रभेदादुत्पन्नं व्यसनं दुष्प्रतिविधेयं स्यात् ।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 120: उद्धृतमन्त्रो न दीर्घसूत्र: स्यात् अननुष्ठाने छात्रवत्किं मन्त्रेण। नह्यौषधि परिज्ञानादेव व्याधिप्रशम: ।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 119: इङ्गितमाकारो मद: प्रमादो निद्रा च मंत्रभेदकारणानि ।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 122: मंत्रकाले विगृह्य विवाद: स्वैरालापश्च न कर्तव्य: ।

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 122: अविरुद्धै: स्वैरैर्विहितो मन्त्रो लघुनोपायेन महत: कार्यस्य सिद्धि मन्त्रफलम् ।

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 123: स मन्त्री शत्रुर्यो नृपेच्छया कार्यमपि कार्यरूपतयाऽनुशास्ति। वरं स्वामिनो दु:खं न पुनरकार्योपदेशेन तद्विनाश: ।

way of accomplishment. The fifth is the *karya-siddhi* or final success. This is the actual accomplishment of work undertaken.[1]

V. The Organisation of the Central Government:

Somadeva remarks that single handed, one can do nothing; therefore, to, maintain administrative efficiency a number of state officers is required.[2] They help the king in matters of timely advice, revenue and wars.[3] The Jain literature and inscriptions testify to the presence of a number of administrative officers. The central government thus had various officers. It was divided into different departments, each having its own head, though the supreme authority in all matters was always vested in the king. The central Secretariat which was responsible for running the entire machinery of the state was established at the capital city, the place of royal residence (*rājadhānī*) and was called *śrīkaraṇa*.[4] The king's seat in this office was called *kāryāsana*.[5]

Prime Minister:

The in-charge of the Secretariat, most probably, was the prime minister. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* informs us that Vīradhavala Vaghela appointed Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla as the *śrīkaraṇādhināthas* (in-charge of *śrīkaraṇa*).[6] The position of the prime minister in our period was very important. We know from the Jain inscriptions and from a number of Jain colophons that he was in-charge of the management of state affairs (*samastavyāpārān paripanthayati* or *śrīkarâṇādīn samastavyāpārān kurvati*).[7] He was also authorised to transact the royal seal and signet.[8] Thus Jayasiṁha had Āśuka and Gāṅgila; Kumārapāla, Mahādeva and Vādhūya; Jaitrasiṁha Guhila, Jagaṇasiṁha; Jaitugideva Paramāra, Dharmadeva; Vīsaladeva Vaghela Nāgaḍa to serve as prime ministers and also to transact the royal seal and signet.[9] Such a high dignitary was the prime minister that he could make or unmake the king. We find that Vīsaladeva Vaghela was installed on the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 115: कर्मणामारम्भोपायः पुरुषद्रव्यसम्पद्देशकालविभागो विनिपातप्रतीकारः कार्यसिद्धिश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गो मंत्रः ।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 130: एको हि पुरुषो केषु नाम कार्येष्वात्मानं विभजते ।

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[4] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 233: श्रीकरणे महं ठकनादि ....

[5] *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 19: सभामण्डपमध्यास्य....कार्यासनं मेने ।

[6] Canto III, V. 69: अथात्मनः श्रीकरणाधिनाथौ कृतौ etc.

[7] *IA.*, XII, p. 202; *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 103, 106, 109, 110 etc.

[8] *Ibid.*: श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपन्थयति ।

[9] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 101, 103, 106, 116, 120 and 125.

throne by Tejaḥpāla, who after this earned the title of *Rājasthāpanācarya*.[1] His name was also mentioned in the grants of the feudatory lords.[2] He was called *mahāpradhāna, jyāyān-pradhāna, pradhānāmātya, pradhānamantrī* and *mahāmātya* in the Jain sources. Thus, Lakṣmaṇasena had Umāpatidhara; Jayacandra Gāhadavāla, Vidyādhara; Muñja Paramāra, Rudrāditya; Mahīpala Kacchapaghāta, Gaura; Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, Śāntu and Muñjāla and Kumārapāla had Vāgbhata and others. The king always consulted him on all important occasions but he was free to follow his advice. Sometimes he set aside his counsels and proceeded according to his own discretion. Thus we know from the *Dvyāśraya* that the prime minister of Arṇorāja advised him not to wage war with Kumārapāla, but the latter refused to follow him.[3]

In the reign of the Caulukyas of Gujarāta we find the term *mahāmātya* applied to a number of ministers. Some of them were in-charge of the secretariat and some were councillors of the kings. Their rapid succession shows that they very often changed their portfolios. Sometimes the *mahāmātya* is found ruling over a province. Thus Udayana was made in-charge of Cambay during the reign of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla[4] and Sāmanta was in-charge of Balāpadrapāthaka during the reign of Kumārapāla.[5]

Ministers: Under the prime ministers there were heads of several departments. In the Jain sources they are called *amātyavarga, amātyavṛddhas*[6] or *rājavṛddhas*.[7] Somadeva says that income, expenditure, royal safety and maintenance of order are the chief concerns of these ministers.[8] He holds the view that a person, quarrelsome by nature, belonging to a strong party, passionate, bad in character and coming from low family, unsubmissive, spend-thrift, foreigner and miser, should not be appointed as the minister of *amātya*.[9]

Experts should be appointed as ministers in their respective posts.

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[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 120, 121; *PC.*, p. 79: आलिगनामा ज्यायान्प्रधानः। *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 62.

[2] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 211.

[3] Canto XVIII, Vs. 15-37.

[4] *SJGM.*, I, p. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 111.

[6] *Tilakamañjarī*, pp. 17, 62.

[7] *PC.*, p. 78.

[8] *Nītivā.*, p. 185: आयव्ययः स्वामिरक्षांमंत्रपोषणं चामात्यानामधिकारः।

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 180: तीक्ष्णं बलवत्पक्षं अशुचिं अव्यसनिनमशुद्धाभिजनमशक्यप्रत्यावर्तनमतिव्ययशील-मन्यदेशायतमतिचिक्कणं चामात्यं न कुर्वीत।

Fitness should be the only criterion for office.[1] These ministers while holding their offices in the secretariat were also in charge of the business of the provinces and sometimes were called the ministers of these provinces.[2] They also toured to inspect the affairs of the State.

Akṣapaṭalika or Mahākṣapaṭalika : Besides the ministers who held important portfolios in the centre, there was chief superintendent of *śrikaraṇa* who was called *akṣapaṭalika* or *mahākṣapaṭalika*.[3] He may be taken as equivalent to chief registrar, or inspector-general of records, in charge of the Record Office. He did all the business of seal relating to the drawing up of documents (*paṭṭaka*).

Dūta: The foreign affairs of the State were under a minister who was called *dūta*.[4] He examined all the terms of treaties and negotiated for peace and alliance. He had under him reporters and informers who enabled him to keep in touch with developments in foreign countries. In emergency he himself went to negotiate the matter of peace and war. In the *Tilakamañjarī* he is called as *pradhānadūta*.[5]

Other Officers: *Kośādhipa* or *kośādhyakṣa*[6] was also an important functionary. He maintained the account of income and expenditure in the royal treasury. A Jain inscription refers to *mahasāhaniya* as an officer. Perhaps, he was the great master of the stable.[7] *Rājavaidya* or the royal physician looked after the health of the king and the members of his family.[8] The officer in charge of the jewels was known as *pradhānaratnādhyakṣa*.[9] There was an officer in charge of sealing the letters of the king's command. The orders were sealed with lead of red colour.[10]

There must have been, however, many more departments but the Jain sources of our period do not throw any light on them.

VI. Provincial Administration :

For administrative convenience, big kingdoms or empires were divided into a number of provinces which were given different names in different

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 69: यो यत्र कर्मणि कुशलस्तं तत्र विनियोजयेत् ॥
[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 112, No. 108.
[3] *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 103: सुदंष्ट्रनामाक्षपटलिकः प्रविश्य पट्टकार्पितान्निखिलवृत्तान्तम् ।
[4] *Nitivā.*, pp. 170–171: अनासन्नेष्वर्थेषु दूतो मंत्री ।
[5] P. 82.
[6] *SJGM.*, I, p. 7.
[7] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 226, No. 875.
[8] *PC.*, p. 55: जीवाभिधानः राजवैद्यः ।
[9] *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 63.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

states. During the Gupta period, the provinces of U.P. and Bengal were styled as *bhukti*, but in the later period we rarely come across the term *bhukti*, in that sense. The term *maṇḍala* in the sense of province was used in the kingdoms of the Caulukyas, Paramāras and Cāhamānas. Thus, we know from the Jain sources that Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭā, Avanti or Mālavā, Aṣṭadaśaśatī (Āsosiṭṭana)[1] were the *maṇḍalas*. The terms *ekadeśa* or *prānta* was also used for a province in the Jain literature.[2]

The governors of provinces were usually called *mahāmaṇḍalesvara* or *maṇḍaleśwara*. The appointment of the governors was entirely in the hands of the king. Qualified persons with administrative capacity were appointed to the post. Thus, we learn from the Jain colophons that Sobhanadeva was governor of Kheṭaka *maṇḍala* during Jayasimha's time, while Vosari was the governor of Lāṭadeśa during Kumārapāla's reign.[3] Sometimes, princes or near kinsmen were appointed to this high post. Thus Pṛthvīrāja III appointed his so-called brother Yaśorāja in Kumārabhukti at Aśinagara.[4] To rule over the newly conquered territories, generals were usually appointed. Thus Vimala *daṇḍanāyaka* was the governor of Arbuda during the reign of Caulukya Bhīma I,[5] while Saurāṣṭra, during the reign of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla, was ruled by its governor Sajjana[6] and Nāḍol, during Kumārapāla's time, by its Governor Vaijaladeva[7].

The provincial governors exercised wide powers. They maintained regular armies at provincial headquarters and were responsible for the maintenance of internal peace and the protection of their territories from external invasion. Thus, Vastupāla as a governor of Cambay averted the invasion made by Śaṅkha with the timely help of the army.[8] The *Tilakamañjari* states that the governors of provinces were satisfied by ministers in their administration.[9] This shows that they had a sort of cabinet to consult now and then.

VII. Feudatories or Sāmantas:

Like these provinces there was a number of feudal states during our period, which owed allegiance to the permanent power. The chief of the

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[1] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 107; *SJGM.*, I, p. 16; *Arbud Jain Lekha-saṅdoh*, II, p. 8.
[2] *PC.*, p. 12.
[3] *SJGM.*, pp. 103, 107.
[4] *SJGM.* II, p. 86.
[5] *Arbud Lekha-sandoh*, II, p. 3.
[6] See *supra*, p. 278.
[7] See *supra*, p. 278.
[8] See *supra*, p. 305.
[9] P. 82: सेनापतिरर्थशास्त्रपरामर्शपूतमतिभिरमात्यैः।

feudal state was called *sāmanta* or *mahasāmanta*, *maṇḍalika*, *maṇḍalādhipati*, or also *maṇḍaleśvara*.[1]

The etymological meaning of the word *sāmanta* is vicinity, which signifies nearness to the king's kinsmen and relatives or persons coming of such families as had rendered meritorious services in past or scions and representatives of dispossessed kingly families. In the Jain inscriptions and colophons of the MSS they are designated by various subordinate titles like *mahārāja*, *mahāsāmanta*, *māhāsāmantādhipati*, *maṇḍaleśvara*, *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *mahāmaṇḍalika* and sometimes *rāṇaka* and *thakkura*. Sometimes they obtained the *pañcamahāśabda* from the soverign. For instance the Devagaḍha Jain inscription informs us that the *mahāsāmanta* Viṣṇurāma had been conferred the *pañca-mahāśabda* by Bhoja Pratihara the ruler of Kanauj.[2] Most of these titles represent certain grades of feudatories. They appear to be always territorial lords. They were usually required to acknowledge their subordinate position in the official charters they issued by mentioning the name of the suzerain first.[3] We have several Jain inscriptions of the reign of Kumarapāla and the Cāhamana of Nadol where *sāmantas* are seen owning the suzerainty of their feudal lords. They also attended the imperial courts not only on ceremonial occasions but also at periodical intervals. Several Jain literary works describe the imperial courts crowded by feudatories who came to pay personal homage to the emperor.[4]

The *sāmantas* maintained small armies and, occasionally, supplied them to their sovereign in the time of war and, sometimes, they themselves were employed in the military service and led the army in the battle and served also in the capacity of ministers.[5] For instance, Yaśodhavala, the Paramāra ruler of Candrāvatī, supplied his army to his sovereign Kumarapāla and led it to the battle of Kauṅkaṇa. A Jain colophon informs us that he also served as a chief minister of Kumarapāla for some time.[6] Similarly, his two sons and grandsons served loyally the successors of Kumārapāla with the assistance of their military.[7] Feudatories who rebelled and were defeated

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[1] *EI.*, IV, p. 309 ff.; *Vasanta-vilāsa*, pp. 12, 22; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 212.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 309 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, pp. 211, 251, *EI.*, XI, pp. 43–46.
[4] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-carita*, I, V. 693; II, V. 6. *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 63.
[5] See *supra*, p. 195. Section on the Paramāras of Candrāvatī.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

in war were subjected to a number of indignities.[1] We have seen, for instance, that Kumārapāla defeated and dethroned Vikramasiṁha Paramāra, a feudatory, and seated his nephew upon the throne.[2] Sometimes, we find instances of feudatories throwing away the imperial yoke and becoming independent during the weak rule of their sovereign. Thus the Guhilotas became independent of the sovereign.[3] Several princes of the Nādol branch of the Cāhamānas and Kacchapaghāta Mūladeva of Gwalior, a feudatory of the Candellas, may be mentioned here as examples.

VIII. District Administration:

Provinces or *maṇḍalas* were divided into a number of districts called '*viṣaya*'. The head of the *viṣaya* was naturally called *viṣayapati* or *viṣayi*[4] or probably, *rājyacintaka*[5] in the Jain inscriptions. The headquarters of the *viṣaya* was known as *mahāsthāna*, or *paṭṭana*.[6] The *viṣayapati* collected government revenues and other cesses and maintained peace and order within his jurisdiction. The officers of the police department, known as *daṇḍapāśikas* or *coroddharaṇikas*, probably worked under the directions of the district officers. Leading persons or important representatives of the *viṣayas* and towns as *mahājanas*, *vipras* and *goṣṭhikas* assisted district officers in the work of administration.[7] The *viṣayapati* represented the king and hence he is called *rājasthānīya* in the inscriptions. The details of the district administration were looked after by a body of officers each in charge of a Department and most probably working under the control of the District Magistrate. The Kalvan Jain plates of Yaśovarman of the time of Bhoja Paramāra mention some of the heads of Departments and officers like the *selaka* (officer-in-charge of weapons), the *grāmaṭaka* (officer-in-charge of the administration of the village as a whole), *gokulika* (superintendent of cattle stations), *caurika* (police officer-in-charge of thieves and robbers), *saulkika* (superintendent of tolls and customs), *daṇḍapāśika* (chief of the police), *pratirājyika*?, *mahattama* (the head or the oldest men of a village), *kuṭumbins*

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] See *supra*, p. 172.
[4] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 119, No. 804.
[5] *Jain Lekha Saṅgraha*, I, p. 238, No. 899: राजचिन्तके जोजलपुत्रे इत्येवं ।
Dr. Bhandarkar, however, takes this term to mean a person looking after the administration of the kingdom. *EI.*, XI, p. 53.
[6] *EI.*, XI, pp. 305, 310.
[7] *Ibid.*

(in all likelihood the leading men in the villages due to their wealth or social influence)[1] and others.

Subdivisions and other lower limits:

The *viṣaya* was further divided into *ahāras*; the *ahāras* into *pāthakas*; and the *pāthakas* into *grāmas*. For example, a Jain colophon refers to one *Khēṭakāhara* under the district of the same name.[2] *Pāthakas* also have been referred to in the Jain colophons such as Dāṇḍavya *pāthaka*, Valāpadra *pāthaka* etc.[3] Ordinarily the limits of a *viṣaya* and those of a *pāthaka* were fixed, but, at times, what was once a *viṣaya* was called a *pāthaka* and vice versa, for example Gambhūtā is once called a *viṣaya* and at another time a *pāthaka*.[4] We also find occasional references to the smaller units like *pattalā, draṅga, maṇḍalī, sthalī, padras* and *pallī* in our sources. A Jain inscription, dated V.E. 1350 from the Vimal temple at Abu, refers to Vīsaladeva Paramāra enjoying a *pattalā* in *Āṣṭādaśasatamaṇḍala*.[5] The Jhālodi inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa refers to Candrāvati as the *draṅga*, the ornament of the country of *Aṣṭādaśasatadesa*.[6] *Maṇḍali* in *Varddhi pāthaka*[7] and *Dadhisthali* near Pāṭan and *Sthali* near Rādhanpur have also been referred to.[8] Several *padras* also have been mentioned in the Jain colophons.[9] These *padras* appear to have been important units of administration so much so that even royal princes and generals were put in charge of them.[10] The reference of *pallis* also occurs in our sources such as *Āsāpalli, Cāharapalli, Vyāghrapalli, Puṇḍrapalli* etc.[11] *Palli* generally denotes a very small village, especially a settlement of wild tribes.[12] But in our inscriptions and colophons it does not seem to have been used in this sense for we know that there were far advanced villages where all kinds of religious and literary activities were going on.

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[1] *EI.*, XIX, p. 69 ff.: अस्मिन्विषयवासिसिलकग्रामटकगोकुलिकचौरिकशौल्किकदण्डपासिकप्राति-राज्यिकमहत्तमकुटुम्बिनोऽन्यांश्च etc.

[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 111.

[4] *IA.*, VI, pp. 196, 198 and Vienna Oriental Journal, V, p. 300.

[5] *Arbud Jain Lekha-sandoha*, II, No. 2, p. 8.

[6] *Ibid.* IV, No. 311.

[7] *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 110, 111.

[8] *DV.*, IX, V. 77 and XIV, V. 24.

[9] *SJGM.*, XVIII, Appendix VII, *Arbud Jain Lekha-sandoha*, V, Appendix VIII.

[10] *IA.*, 1913, p. 60.

[11] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 166 Appendix VII.

[12] Monier Williams, Sanskrit–English Dictionary, p. 610; *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* V. 729.

The term Bhukti: In a small kingdom like that of the Cāhamānas of Nadol or Jalor we find a peculiar unit of administration which is known as *bhukti*. This term is used there in the sense which hardly means a province. Certain Jain inscriptions from Nādol show that the personal property of the members of the royal family was called *bhukti* and the official designation of the proprietor of the *bhukti* was *bhoktā*.[1] Sometimes more than one prince governed the same *bhukti* conjointly. Thus Rājaputra Lakhaṇapāla and Abhayapāla are known to have been the *bhoktṛs* of Siāṇava and Sāmaṇaka.[2] Instances of *bhuktis* being assigned to queens are also obtained. Thus Jalhaṇādevī, the queen of Kelhaṇadeva, is said to have enjoyed one such *bhukti*.[3] It seems that the princes governed their *bhukti* personally, while the queens might have done it through their agents. The personal property of the king was known as *rājakīya bhoga*[4] or *svabhoga*.[5] Thus the Sāndera Jain inscription of Kelhaṇadeva, dated V.E. 1221, informs us that the queen mother Ānaṇadevi donated some corn out of the king's estate.[6]

Some other peculiar units like *dvādaśaka*, and *caurāsi* were a kind of estates held by the princes. Thus Nāḍol Jain copper plate grant informs us that Rājaputra Kīrtipāla had received a group of 12 villages to rule from his father and elder brother.[7]

IX. *The City Administration:*

The capital of the king and some other important towns of the kingdom had their own administration. In the capital the king's orders mostly regulated the administration. But usual administration was under a committee whose chairman was *purādhyakṣa*. Certain religious towns had also committees for their management. Thus, we know that under the *purādhyakṣa* Gaṅḍa the religious city of Devapaṭṭana was managed.[8] The *purādhyakṣa* was assisted by a number of officers in his administration. The protectors of city were known as *nagara-rakṣakas*,[9] who worked under the warden of the city, sometimes called as *talāra*. The city warden's post was considered as an important one. Thus we know that Jagadeva, a favourite

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1 *EI.*, XI, pp. 49, 50; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 231.
2 *Ibid.*, *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, p. 231.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 51–52; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 229.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 47; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 229.
5 *IA.*, 1913, p. 60.
6 *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 210.
7 *DV.*, XV, V. 38.
8 *Samarāicca-kahā*, p. 270 (Ahmedabad ed.)
9 *Samarāicca-kahā*, p. 270.

of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, was the city warden of Aṇahilapura.[1] The Cirwā inscription composed by a Jain monk informs us that during the reign of Padmasiṁha Guhila, Yogarāja was the *talāra* in the city of Nāgadraha.[2] The strorehouse (*bhāndāgāra*) of the city was under the officer styled as *bhāndāgārika*. The head of the police officers was known as *daṇḍapāśika* whose duty was to investigate the crimes of the city.[3] The policemen were called *rājapuruṣas*.[4] The judicial administration of the city was under a city magistrate called *karaṇika*,[5] who held his office in the council hall called as the *pancakula*.[6]

Pancakula: The term *pancakula* in our period is used in various senses. It is considered by scholars as signifying the representatives of wards and thus their congregation also came to be known as the *pancakula*. The commentator of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* states that the term *karaṇa* signifies the *pancakula*. Somadeva mentions the five composites of the *karaṇa* or *pancakula*. They are (1) *ādāyaka* (who receives the state income), (2) *nibandhaka* (who maintains the accounts), (3) *prutivandhaka* (in-charge of seal), (4) *nivigrāhaka* (finance minister) and (5) *rājādhyakṣa* (head of the above four). From these functions of the *karaṇa* we get an idea of the State exchequer.

The term *pancakula* used in the story of Vanarāja as well as in other places in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*[7] denotes that *pancakula* was a revenue officer of Government. *Pancakula* in the *Samarāicca-kahā* has been referred to as the Court with Juries. (P. 270).

We shall also see that the *pancakula* has also been used in the sense of the village council.

Guilds (goṣṭhis or śreṇi):

The Jain sources of our period throw a flood of light on guilds and their activities. Although we hear of their existence from the Gupta period, yet we find during our period their wider activities. Guilds or *goṣṭhis* as they were called were a kind of corporations of professionals. Thus we find guilds of dancers, musicians, weavers, oilmen etc. Some of such corporations were also associated with the administration of the areas in which they

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[1] See *supra*, p. 260.
[2] *Moharāja-parājaya* (*GOS.*, IX), p. 78.
[3] *SJGM.*, I, p. 77.
[4] *Samarāiccakahā*, p. 271.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[6] Pt. II, p. 66 : बहुमुख्यमनित्यं च करणं स्थापयेत्।
[7] *SJGM.*, I, pp. 12, 57 and 82.

flourished. Persons belonging to these groups were called *goṣṭhikas*.[1] The kings of our period are seen bestowing certain powers on these bodies. Thus, an inscription, dated V.E. 1348 of the reign of Sāmantasiṁha Cāhamāna of Jālor, informs us that *goṣṭhi* was authorised to transact all the business of income and expenditure of *haṭṭa* (market place). They are also entitled to form a body known as the institutions of *bhāṭṭaka*.[2] In another Jain inscription from Ghaṭiyālā, dated V.E. 918 of the reign of Kakkuka, we are told that the king authorised the *bhāṭṭaka goṣṭhi* to protect the temple of Jina which he had built and donated.[3]

The *goṣṭhis* of our period also enjoyed certain privileges. Thus, we know from a Jain inscription from Osia of Kelhaṇadeva, dated V.A. 1236, that the king made his grant before them, and the storehouse was kept under them.[4] Another Jain inscription from Sevāḍī, dated V.E. 1198, informs us that *goṣṭhi* possesses the power to impose restrictions.[5]

Hemacandra mentions many *goṣṭhis*, eighteen in traditional number. It seems that a number of people of different sections were employed in different establishments in the city and belonged either to the government service or non-government service. They organised themselves into co-operation in order to be associated with the running of the local administration.

X. The Local Government:

The existence of the Local Government is also revealed from the Jain sources, although they do not give much account of their activities.

Municipalities: Probably there were municipal bodies which controlled certain affairs of the town. Many Jain inscriptions from Western India mention *mahājana-sabhā* and *grāmīṇa sabhā* as two separate bodies. The Naḍalāi inscription, dated V.E. 1200 of the reign of Rāyapāla, mentions *mahājana-grāmiṇa-janapada-samakṣa*.[6] Another inscription of the same king found at the same place mentions that the *mahājana*, all combined, donated certain objects.[7] It also differentiates *mahājanas* from others. The Sevādi Jain inscription, dated V.E. 1172, of the reign of Aṇahilla, shows that commander Yaśodeva was ranked first in the king's court as well as in

1 *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, p. 236.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 249.
3 *Ibid.*, I, p. 261: अर्पितमेतद्भुवनं भाटकप्रमुखगोष्ठ्यै।
4 *Ibid.*, I, p. 198.
5 *Ibid.*, I, p. 227: गोष्ठ्या मिलित्वा निर्बन्धः कृतः।
6 *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, p. 213.
7 *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 214.

the committee of *mahājanas.*[1] Yet another inscription of Pratīhāra Kakkuka, dated V.E. 918, states that a *Haṭṭ* (market place) was inhabited by *mahājanas, vipra* and others.[2] All these inferences show the existence of a body which may be called, in the modern sense of the term, municipality.

From the above inscriptions we know that the council of this body consisted of important persons of the town such as *mahājanas* (respected persons), *vipras* and some of the members of *goṣṭhis* (guilds). The important markets (*hoṭṭas*) of the towns were under the control of these municipalities. They were also authorised to impose taxes for religious gifts to temples and the Jain inscriptions recorded various such taxes. The Jain inscriptions record toll house (*śulkamaṇḍapikā*) under the management of the town committee.[3] Sometimes the dues of the Central Government in customs duties were collected by the town committee on its behalf; thus the pilgrim tax at Bāhuloḍa in Gujarāta which amounted to 72 lakhs was collected in the 12th century by the local municipality on behalf of the Central Government.[4] The tax collector was called *pancakula.*[5] The permanent secretary (*karaṇika*) was in-charge of the records and correspondence of the committee.

Regarding other details such as selection and other functions of the committee we have no information from the Jain sources.

The Village Administration: The village administration was usually managed under the supervision and direction of the village headman. In the Jain inscriptions and literature he is called *grāmiṇaka,*[6] *grāmikā, grāmakūṭa,*[7] *poṭṭakila,*[8] *mahallaka* or *mahantaka*[9] during our period.

Mahallara and Mahattama: The majority of the Jain inscriptions of our period refer to the *mahattaras* or *mahattamās* of a village.[10] The two terms, though apparently representing the comparative and superlative degrees, have the same political significance as that of the elders. Their repeated mentions show that generally the elders of a village associated, it

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 261.
[3] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 215.
[4] *PC.* (*SJGM.*), p. 57.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 57; *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 233.
[6] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 213.
[7] *Nītivā.*, p. 99.
[8] *PC.*, p. 98.
[9] *Jain Śilālekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 232–233.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 248, 249 and 266.

seems informally, with the regular servants of Government in the management of rural affairs. Sometimes, they rose high and obtained recognition at the courts of suzerains and feudatories.

Pancakula: Inscriptions from Western India, however, show that from *c.* 600 A.D. the village elders used to appoint a formal executive committee of their own. The Jain inscriptions also show a similar development in Rājasthāna where the executive of the village assembly was known as *pancakula*. It, most probably, worked under the guidance of a headman known as *mahanta*.[1] The word *pancakula* has got a number of meanings, which have already been discussed elsewhere.

Somadeva refers to the Village tribunals[2] also. Beyond this scanty information we have no detailed accounts of village administration in the Jain sources.

XI. *Revenue and Finance Administration*:

The success of the Government of our period must have rested on the sound finance, for finance is said to be the very source of all achievements.[3] The treasury of the king always serves an useful purpose in distress as well as prosperity.[4] It is a sound government whose sources of revenue are abundant and items of disbursement are limited. The treasury should be full of precious metals like gold and silver and many other currencies.[5] This treasury is the very life of the king.[6] The king whose treasury is empty generally robs his subjects and then the kingdom is ruined.[7] Somadeva further stresses that it is the treasury and not the person of the king which is the real sovereign.[8] He alone wins victory who has got wealth. Only he who has wealth is reckoned to be great and well-born.[9] The wealth for the treasury should be acquired by lawful means, not illegally by bribes, etc.[10]

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1 *Jain Śilālekha-sangraha*, I, pp. 233, 249, 266.
2 *Nītivā.*, p. 202, Sutra 22.
3 *Nītivā.*, p. 27: यतः सर्वप्रयोजनसिद्धि सोऽर्थः ।
4 *Ibid.*, p. 202: यः विपदि सम्पदि च स्वामिनस्तंत्राभ्युदयं कोशयति स कोशः ।
5 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
6 *Nītivā.*, p. 203: कोशो हि भूपतीनां जीवितं न प्राणाः ।
7 *Ibid.*, p. 203.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 204: कोशो राजेत्युच्यते न भूपतीना शरीरम् ।
9 *Ibid.*, p. 204.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 183: राज्ञो लंचेन कार्यकरणं कस्य नाम कल्याणम् ।

In the *Amātya-samuddeśa* of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* the administration of revenue is put under a minister (*amātya*).

Sources of Revenue: The splendours of the court, the salaries of the officers and establishments, the army and multifarious activities of the state, necessitated a vast revenue. According to Kauṭilya and Somadeva agriculture, cattle-breeding and trades were the main sources of revenue in ancient India. Their prosperity was the prosperity of the state itself.[1] Revenue during our period was derived partly from taxation and partly from sources other than taxation. From sources other than the Jain we know that the land tax was the primary source of revenue, but as most of the Jain sources of the period are of religious character they seldom yield the name and kinds of the taxes levied on. It cannot be said with certainty what exactly was the share of the product from the land that was actually collected by the state. But it is reasonable to assume that the traditional $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce was collected in the period under review.[2] Land, however, was measured for the purpose of taxation, for the measurements of land are often given in the inscriptions of the time. Thus the Kalvan Jain plates of Yaśovarman refer to *nivartana*, a kind of ancient measurement which is considered to be equal to 60 yards.[3] Another measurement by seed capacity was also in vogue during this period. The Dubkuṇḍ Jain inscription tells us that Vikramasiṁha donated a field whose length and breadth were specified by the seeds of wheat measured by four *goṇis*.[4] Sometimes *droṇas* of seeds were also applied in measurement. We also find in the Jain inscriptions that fields had their names and were always mentioned in grants with their boundaries, the word for which is *Āghāṭa*.[5] Villages are also described by their boundaries.[6]

Some of the grants made to the Jain temples, however, throw some light on the nature of taxes levied on to meet the expenses of the temple. The most important of such records is the Bijapur Jain inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hathuṇḍi. It records the permanent (*akṣaya*) endowments renewed by Vidagdharāja previously made by his father

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 93: कृषिः पशुपालनं वणिज्या च वार्ता वैश्यानाम्। वार्ता समृद्धौ सर्वाः समृद्धयो राज्ञः।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88: परिपालको हि राजा सर्वेषां धर्मषष्ठांशमवाप्नोति, उञ्छषड्भागप्रदानेन तपस्विनोऽपि संभावयन्ति।

[3] *EI.*, XIX, pp. 69–75.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 232–240.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 69–75.

Mammata.[1] The description is as follows: (1) One rupee for each twenty loads carried for sale, (2) One rupee on each cart filled (whether going from or by the village), (3) One *karṣa* per *ghāṭ* at each oil mill, (4) 13 *collıkas*, of betel leaves by the *bhaṭṭas*, (5) *pellaka-pellaka* (?) by the gamblers (6) One *āḍhaka* (four seers) of wheat and barley from each *araghaṭṭa, i.e.*, well with a water wheel, (7) five *palas* for *pedda*, (8) one *vinśopaka* coin for each *bhāra* (2000 palas), (9) ten *palas* from each *bhāra* of articles such as cotton, copper, saffron, gum and so forth, and (10) One *mānaka* for each *droṇa* of wheat, *mūng*, barley and such other objects as can be measured.

The chief need of temples was oil and incense. To meet the expenses of oil there are certain taxes recorded by the Jain inscription. From the Nāḍlāi inscription of Nāḍol Cāhamāna Rājpāl we get the information that two *palikās* (measure) of oil per *ghāṇaka* were given to the temple, perhaps, for daily[2] use. These gifts were called *dharmadāyas* or *dharmāyapradatti*.[3]

From the above description an opinion can be formed that taxes of such nature also were levied to meet the expenses of the state.

There were also taxes collected from guilds of merchants and artisan classes. There were organised associations of bankers, traders and merchants as could be seen from a number of Jain inscriptions found in Rājasthāna and Western India. They were the wealthy classes of the state and paid good sums of money in the shape of taxes. The relationship between them and the state was cordial.

The occurrence of the term *maṇḍapikā* such as *Śulkamaṇḍapikā*, *Vadarya-maṇḍapikā*, *Samipāṭi-maṇḍapıkā*, in some Jain inscriptions and[4] inscriptions other than the Jain and *Jala-maṇḍapikā* and *Sthala-maṇḍapikā* in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha*[5] shows regular custom houses in towns and elsewhere.

The chief revenue was collected in kind and in some cases in cash. Though the taxes on trade brought in money yet the circulation of money in every state was very limited. Every trade transaction was carried on for the most part by barter, but references to coins are not wanting in the Jain literature and epigraphs. The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍi* mentions *pana* and *kārṣāpaṇa*, the two coins as means of exchange.[6]

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[1] See *supra*, p. 182.
[2] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, pt. I, p. 213.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 212, 233.
[5] *SJGM.*, II, p. 56.
[6] Bhavanagar edition, pp. 15, 257, 268.

It also frequently refers to *dinār* (dinarious), a gold coin. The chief coin which our inscriptions mention is the *dramma*.[1] The half *dramma* was called *drammārdha*. The Bījāpur Jain inscription of Dhavala (*c.* 980 A.D.)[2] and several other inscriptions refer to the use of *rūpaka* which in Mohammadan period came to be known as rupee, perhaps it was equal to one fourth of *dramma*. The minor coins that are mentioned are the *vinśopaka*, presumably the 20th part of *dramma* and the *kapardikā*, *kākiṇi* and *varāṭaka*.[3] Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* mentions some of the interesting coins. Among the minor coins he names *sūrpa*.[4] One garland cost two *sūrpas* in those days. He also refers to *prastha* and *bhāgika*, the latter being equal to about half a rupee in value.[5] We also find mentioned there some valuable coins of gold. A coin is referred to as equal to 20 or 40 rupees, which seems to be made of heavy gold. Other gold coins mentioned are *niṣka*, *viṣṭa* and *pala*.[6]

Other Sources of Income: Unclaimed property and treasure were some other sources of income to the king. Thus, we learn that the Caulukya kings used to take the property of the deceased who had no sons after them in their estates. Large tributes from the feudatories and valuable presents from the merchants of other countries also yielded a profuse income to the state. Fines and forfeitures formed another plentiful source of income.

Expenditure:—The state had to employ so many paid officials to maintain the departments. Besides the expenditure of the royal household the king had to meet the pay and pension of the officials including the menials. A good sum of income was used up by the military department to maintain the soldiers, leaders, animals and other paraphernalia of the army. The kings of our period spent the state income for religious and benevolent purposes also as we see in the case of Bhoja, Paramāra, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, Kumārapāla, and the illustrious ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.

Accounts Department: Somadeva emphasises that accounts of income and expenditure should be kept in an orderly manner and submitted periodically for audit and approval. If there be any discrepancy, it should be checked by the expert accountants.[7] This department was a part of the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[2] See *supra*, p. 152.
[3] *DV.* Canto XVII, V. 88.
[4] *Ibid.*, Canto XVII, V. 48.
[5] *Ibid.*, Canto V, 94 and 100.
[6] *Ibid.*, Canto IV, V. 45, XVII, V. 83-84.
[7] *Nītivā.*, p. 189: आयव्ययविप्रतिपत्तौ कुशलकरणकार्यपुरुषेभ्यस्तद्विनिश्चयः ।

big secretariat (*karaṇa,*) and consisted of the five officers: *adāyaka, nibandhaka, pratikantaka, vinigrāhaka and Rājādhyakṣa.*[1] The capital, free from inaccuracy in the debit and credit side, is known *nībī.*[2] That *nībī* is to be checked through the accounts-books by the experts.[3] The general term for the officials of finance department is *niyogi.*[4] The king is advised to keep watch over them through spies or to transfer their duties frequently or to offer them royal honour so that they would not do any mischief.[5] They should be accused very often so that they could not create any trouble.[6] Thus accused they must have to yield immense wealth to the state. We, however, do not know much about the working method of this department from the Jain sources of our period.

XII. Law and Justice

Somadeva says: "A king should always try to get at sinners and criminals, at all those who are obstacles to the happiness of his people."[7] Accordingly the kings of our period were the dispensers of justice. In our period we do not find kings making laws; perhaps, it was because of the Hindu view that the king had no legislative power. Traditional laws were already there and the kings had merely to execute them.

Somadeva and other Jain writers are absolutely silent about the sources of law which means that they seem to have agreed mostly to the views held by writers other than the Jain ones in this respect.

Court: In the *Nītivākyāmṛta,* the court of law is named *sabhā* and the Presiding Judge of the court is known as *sabhāpati.* Assisting judges or juries are known *sabhyas.*[8] But, in the *Samarāicca-kahā* the court is called *pancakula* (Court with Juries) and judge is called *karanika,*[9] perhaps being an officer of the great *karaṇa* (secretariat). Sometimes the throne room or audience hall of the king was also the house of justice. According to the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 188: आदायकनिबन्धकप्रतिबन्धकनिग्राहकराजाध्यक्षाः करणानि।

[2] *Ibid.*: आयव्ययविशुद्धं द्रव्यं नीवी।

[3] *Ibid.*: नीवीनिबन्धनपुस्तकग्रहणपूर्वकमायव्ययौ विशोधयेत्।

[4] *Jain Lekha-sangraha*, I, p. 209.

[5] *Nītivā.*, p. 189: नित्यपरीक्षा कार्यविपर्ययः प्रतिपत्तिदानं च नियोगिष्वर्थग्रहणोपायाः।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 189: नापीडिता नियोगिनो दुष्टव्रणा इवान्तःसारमुद्वमन्ति।
पुनःपुनरभियोगो नियोगिषु महीपतीनां वसुधारा॥

[7] *Nītivā.*, p 42–43: योऽनुकूलप्रतिकूलयोरिन्द्रयमस्थानं स राजा। राज्ञो हि दुष्टनिग्रहः शिष्टपरिपालनं च धर्मः।

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 296–297: Sutra 5–7.

[9] Ahmedabad edition, pp. 270–271.

Kumārapāla-pratibodha of Somaprabhasūri, Kumārapāla in the fourth *prahara* of the day (about 3 P.M.), took his seat on the throne in the royal court and attended the business of state, heard appeals from the people and passed judgments on them.[1] Somadeva says that cases decided in the village tribunals or city tribunals should be put before the king for appeal,[2] which shows there were other types of courts also. The king was the highest court of appeal and in all judicial matters the final decision rested with him. Written appeals to the king were allowed, says *Vasudevahiṇḍi*[3] (*c.* 6th cent.) The term used for a law suit in our text is *vyavahāra*.[4]

Juries: Somadeva refers to *sabhyas* with whose help the king (*sabhāpati*) administered justice. It is said that a king should be careful to select them. The *sabhyas* should never indulge in greed and favouritism; they must always offer wholesome counsel to their sovereign. From this it appears that the *sabhyas* of Somadeva must have been juries of the court. Somadeva does not refer to any procedure which the court followed, in deciding the case.[5]

Evidence: But he prefers that the cases should be supported by documentary evidence. *Bhukti* (possession), *sākṣi* (witness) and *śāsana* (deed or charter), these three were known as infallible evidences. The disputed possession and witness and false deed are always the point of controversy.[6]

Oath: Somadeva believes in oaths in deciding the case. In law courts, a *Brāhmaṇa* is to take the oath by touching his sacred thread or a piece of gold; a *Kṣatriya* by touching a weapon, a jewel, or the ground etc.; a *Vaiśya* by touching his ear or gold, a *Śūdra* by touching milk or corn. The idea, we are told, is that the forms of oath should be according to the profession of the person concerned.[7]

Like the *Smṛtis* the *Nītivākyāmṛta* knows ordeals as parts of judicial procedure.[8]

Punishment: It is one of the chief topics of political science. Its importance is enormous. But punishment by a king ought to be like the

[1] *GOS.*, XIV, Introduction, p. xiii.

[2] *Nītivā.*, p. 302: ग्रामे पुरे वा वृत्तो व्यवहारः ।

[3] Bhavanagar edition, p. 253: लिहियं पि वयणं संभोइओ व ।

[4] *Nītivā.*, p. 302.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 295–296: अविवेकवान् ।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 298: भुक्तिः साक्षी शासनं प्रमाणम् ।

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 305–307.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

ministration of medicine by a physician.[1] It should never be prostituted to monetary ends. He is a bad king and a bad physician who eagerly looks out for disorders with a view to obtaining selfish gratification.[2] Unjust punishment recoils on the head of the monarch.[3]

Let us now see what the actual practice was. The Jain literature mentions various kinds of offences, amongst which robbery, adultery, and murder were the chief.

Thieves were caught by a police man who was styled as *rājapuruṣa* and who presented them before the *pancakula* (Court with Juries). Delicate cases were referred to the ministers who, sometimes had the power to inflict even the capital punishment.[4] The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* refers to the rock of execution (*vadhya-śilā*).[5] *The Bṛhatkathā* of Hariṣena refers to some forms of public condemnation. A culprit had his head besmeared with ashes or shaved, leaving five tufts of hair, his property was confiscated, and, tied with *pancavilva,* he was driven through the town on the back of an ass. Presentation of black clothes, of a pair of black oxen and of dark (or iron) implements indicated contemptuous treatment. A messenger from an offensive party had his head clearly shaved and his ears and nose chopped off.[6]

Painters who committed crimes were deprived of their hands. The offenders of king were captured without any warrant by the police (*daṇḍa-pāśika*) and punished instantly.

Eight kinds of punishment are recorded in the Jain tradition. These are: expression of regret, prohibition, reproach, reprimand, confinement to a certain district, imprisonment, corporal punishment and fine.[7] The *Smṛtis* exempt Brāhmaṇas from the capital and corporal punishment: instead of that they prescribe only banishment for them but the *Arhannīti*[8] gives the same privilege for women and ascetics also. It states: "Even if they have committed a thousand crimes, a woman, a Brāhmaṇa and Ascetics should never be made to suffer capital punishment, nor cutting off of limbs, but only some simple punishment should be inflicted on them".[9] Somadeva

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 102.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.
[4] *Samarāicca-kahā*, pp. 270, 271 (Ahmedabad ed.)
[5] VI, 40.
[6] Introduction, p. 88.
[7] *Samarāicca-kahā*, p. 358.
[8] *Arhannīti* (Ahmedabad, 1906).
[9] *Ibid.*

in certain passages seems to concede in particular sanctity to Brahmanas, but he has treated all as equal before the law.

XIII. *Military Administration*

The rulers of some of the dynasties of our period were maintaining good fighting forces to protect their kingdoms. The strength of such power is mentioned in some of the Jain works as well as in the works other than the Jain ones. It is stated in the Aihole Jain inscription that Harṣa had an army of well trained elephants (*gajendrānīka*).[1] The Kalacuri king, Gāngeya, is reported to have an army of fourteen hundred of elephants, a cavalry containing five hundred thousand of horses and 21 hundred thousand of men.[2] The Paramāra king, Bhoja, encountered Gāngeya with an army consisting of a cavalry of forty-four thousand horses, five hundred thousand men and two hundred elephants.[3] The *Pṛthvīrāja-prabandha* refers to Pṛthvīrāja's army which possessed two hundred thousand of horses and an elephant corps of ten thousand and man power equal to fifteen hundred thousand.[4] Similarly, the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that Jayacandra Gāhaḍawāla had such a vast army that being embarassed by it even he could not walk; he, therefore, bore the title '*Paṅgu*'.[5] Some of these statements, however, are fortunately corroborated by foreign writers. Firista informs us that the Cāhamāna army in the battle of Tarāi comprised, besides infantry, two hundred thousand horses and three thousand elephants.[6]

Army organisation: From these references it appears that the army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Though we find chariots mentioned in the Jain literature, it probably refers to the conventional four arms or *caturanga* of the Indian army. The disappearance of chariots from India's military system, it seems, came during our period. Hemacandra, in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, refers to six-fold division of the army, presumably based on the area or source of recruitment. The *ṣaḍangas* of the army were the hereditary troops (*maula*), mercenaries (*bhṛta*), gild levies (*śreṇi*), soldiers supplied by feudatory chiefs or allies (*suhṛd-balaṁ*), troops captured or won over from the enemy (*dviṣad-balaṁ*), and forest tribes (*aṭavi-balam*).[7] The

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[1] *EI.*, VI, pp. 1–10.
[2] *SJGM.*, II, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *SJGM.*, II, p. 87.
[5] *SJGM.*, I, p. 113.
[6] Brigg's tr., Vol. I, pp. 176–177.
[7] *DV.*, Canto VI, V. 71.

earliest references to this six fold division occur in the Epics and the *Arthaśāstra*, but they are also found in the later works like the *Kāmandakīya* and the *Nītivākyāmṛta*[1] and in the inscriptions ranging from the 6th to the 11th century. Somadeva refers to one more division of the army known as *autsāhika bala* which, used by the conquering monarch at the time of his world conquest, was sure to destroy the enemy's force. The chief merit of this battallion was that it consisted of royal princes, knights, well versed in arms and loyal soldiers.[2] He further adds that the energetic force (*autsāhika bala*) should be gratified by riches and honour, without displeasing the hereditary forces.[3] Among the six-fold division of the army, the hereditary division is considered to be the best, for it stands by in the time of distress, it never rebels even though punished and it always remains faithful and loyal to its monarch.[4] It is the honour of the master that makes the forces fight, not the monetary gain.[5] Negligence in inspection by the king himself, cut in the salary, ever late payment, carelessness on removing distress and no gratification in special occasions are the chief reasons for displeasure of the army.[6]

Vyūha: In those days, in a battle it was customary to divide the troops into different *vyūhas* (battle formations or array), where all the forces could be put in service to decide the issue sooner or later. Somadeva states that army, intelligence, land, favourableness of stars and superior efforts may be regarded as successful means to form the military array.[7]

Fortifications and seigecraft are next in importance. Forts constituted an important link in the scheme of national defence. Somadeva says that in the absence of forts the position of the king, specially in the time of trouble, becomes shelterless like a ship-bird who goes astray on the sea.[8] Weak rulers often take shelter in them. It is said that the king used to store all sorts of provisions and ammunitions there.[9] We, however, have several references to the forts in our period. Dhārā had a fort where Bhoja took shelter when he was invaded by the Kalacuri King, Karṇa, and Bhīma

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[1] *Nītivā.*, XXII, p. 211, sutra 12 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 211, sutra 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, sutra 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, sutra 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 113: न तथार्थः पुरुषान् योधयति यथा स्वामिसम्मानः।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 113, sutra 17.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[8] *Nītivā.*, p. 199: अदुर्गस्य राज्ञः पयोधिमध्ये पोतच्युतपक्षिवदापदि न ह्याश्रयः।

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 199, sutra 3.

Caulukya conjointly.[1] The invading party generally laid siege to the fort and the victim king through his siegecraft whiled some time in order to get the chance to encounter the attack. Forts were mostly under the supervision of royal princes or trustworthy relatives of the king. The officer in charge of *durga* is called *koṭṭapāla* or *koṭṭaswāmi*.[2]

Diplomacy: During our period diplomacy also played an important role in warfare. The use of diplomatic agents like *Dūtas* or ambassadors or *cāras* or spies would have been very considerable. Somadeva is more in favour of diplomacy than war.[3]

Diplomatic agents or ambassadors should be loyal to their master, free from vices, well versed in duties, pure in character, profoundly wise, talented, compassionate, acquainted with the clue of others.[4] They are classified into three catagories: *nisṛṣṭārtha* was one who had the full powers of negotiations, *paramitārtha* was one who could not deviate from his instruction and *śasanahara dūta* was merely to deliver the message and take back the reply.[5] The envoy should study the ins and outs of the enemy's territory, the loyalty or otherwise of his officers through the persons who are close to them, behaving like their own man.[6] He should not accept the grants and tributes presented by the enemy side.[7]

An envoy was not to be molested on any account, he might talk as he liked but his life was sacred. Even when hostilities have started, the king should send his *dūtas* and they were not to be touched.[8] During the period under review the *dūtas* of the opposite party were respected. Thus, we learn from the *Vasanta-vilāsa* that Vastupāla did not insult the *dūta* of Śankha who spoke bitterly.[9]

In ancient as in modern times, the ambassador was a licensed and open spy; during his stay at the foreign court, he was to cultivate friendly relations with a view to getting a clue to the real policy of the Government. He was to observe the general condition, estimate the State's resources in

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[1] See *supra*, p. 103.

[2] *SJGM.*, XVIII, p. 10.

[3] *Nītivā.*, XXX, p. 345: बुद्धियुद्धेन परं जेतुमशक्तः शस्त्रयुद्धमुपक्रमेत्।

[4] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 170.

[5] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 170.

[6] *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 170, sutra 170: स्वामिभक्तिरव्यसनिता दाक्ष्यं शुचित्वममूर्खता etc.

[7] *Ibid.*, XIII, sutra 15.

[8] *Ibid.*, XIII, sutras 17–20: महत्यपकारेऽपि न दूतमुपहन्यात्। वध्याभावाद्दूताः सर्वमेव जल्पन्ति ||

[9] *GOS.*, VII, p. 22 ff.

men and money and get first-hand information from his own spies about the condition of the defence and forts of the country. He was to send his reports to the home country. Thus, we learn from the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that Dāmara, the ambassador of Bhīma I Caulukya was at the court of Bhoja Paramāra, who did his best to serve his home country, Gujarāta.[1]

A regular system of espionage was another feature of warfare. The spies were the eyes of the king to watch over his own circle and the circles other than his own.[2] Ungreediness, smartness, truthfulness and thoughtfulness were the qualities of spies.[3]

These spies disguised themselves as ascetics, scholars, sorcerers, jugglers, foresters, snake-charmers, singers, dancers, tradesmen, artisans, astrologers, mathematicians, physicians, soldiers and so forth, roamed about in the country and gathered public opinion from every nook and corner.[4] They were paid regularly. In their turn they showed their promptness in the discharge of their duties.[5] The spies were also helpful to the king in the administration of justice.

War Officers: The infantry was under the immediate charge of *pattyādhyakṣa*. The cavalry was considered, par excellence, the mobile force. It was under *aśvapati* who had masters of stables under him, known as *sāhaniya* in Rājasthan. The Sevādi Jain inscription of V.E. 1167 mentions *mahāsāhanīya* Puavī.[6] Elephants duly trained were particularly useful in siege, assault and bridging. The elephant corps was under a *gajapati*.[7]

The army commander or general was known variously as *mahādaṇḍādhipati, senāpati, daṇḍanātha, daṇḍanāyaka* or *daṇḍādhipati*. We have elsewhere narrated the qualifications of a true general. Thus, we learn from the Citorgaḍha inscription composed by Jain Rāmkīrti that Sajjan was *daṇḍanātha* of Kumārapāla.[8] The Dhāṇcrāva Jain inscription dated V.E. 1213, mentions Vaijjaladeva as *daṇḍanāyaka*.[9] These generals, sometimes, were made in-charge of the newly conquered provinces and, sometimes, they held the portfolio of the Prime Minister, as Sobhanadeva was appointed to rule over

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[1] See *supra*, p. 101.
[2] *Nītivā.*, p. 172: स्वपर मण्डल कार्याकार्यविलोकने चाराश्चक्षूंषि क्षितिपतीनाम् ।
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 172, sutra 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, sutra 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, sutra 3.
[6] *EI.*, XI, p. 29.
[7] *PC.* (*SJGM*)., p. 61.
[8] *HIG.*, Part II, No. 146.
[9] *Jain Lekha-saṅgraha*, I, p. 218, No. 860.

Lāṭadeśa in the time of Bhīma II,[1] and Sājjana over Saurāṣṭra; Śritāta was *daṇḍapati* as well as Prime Minister.[2] But the general policy according to Somadeva was "Military authority should not be in political counsels."[3] We may say in explaining this statement further that the war mongering, ammunition manufacturers and army commanders have no right to participate in the deliberations which are aimed at the establishment of enduring peace and order in the world.

It is said that at the time of war, to lead the army by the king himself is like the *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice.[4] The king of our period led the army in the battlefield as Bhoja did against Gāngeya and Kumārapāla against Arṇorāja, Jayacandra against Paramardi and Pṛthvīrāja against Mohammad Ghorī.

Sometimes feudatories and sometimes generals also led the army as Yaśodhavala Paramāra, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, invaded Konkaṇa on behalf of his master[5] and Gurjara-Brahma senāni of Kumārapāla attacked Ballāla.[6]

We find references to the battle drums in the Jain literature. The *Tilakamañjarī* calls them *sannāhapaṭaha* or *samara-ḍakkā* or *samarabherī*. The king mostly rode on elephants. The members of the royal household, the minister and their families, also used to accompany the marching forces. The journey was made on elephants, on horses or in bullock carts. *Vaidyas* and physicians were kept with the army. At the moment of departure, battle drums, conches and other instruments were played upon. The *Dvyāśrya-kāvya* says that Jayasimha and his army used to cover about eight *kośas* (sixteen miles) in a day.[7] They encamped at a suitable place, the encampment mostly happened to be like a small town where all the amenities were found. The *Tilakamañjarī* gives a very beautiful description of an army on march where a prince in charge of that army observes some religious rites, proceeds on his way, and encamps at a sea-shore. There a description of an encampment is given elaborately. We find there a detailed description of a naval invasion also.[8]

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1 *SJGM.*, XVIII, pp. 103, 112.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
2 *Nītivā.*, p. 136: शस्त्रविद्याविदो न मंत्राधिकारिणः स्युः।
4 *Ibid.*, p. 359: स्वामिनः पुरःसरणं युद्धेऽश्वमेधसमम्।
5 See *supra*, pp. 267–275.
6 See *supra*, pp. 267–275.
7 *DV.*, Canto 14, Vs. 12–18.
8 *Kāvyamālā* Series, pp. 123–125.

Weapons: The offensive weapons used in war were discus (*cakra*), bow (*dhanuṣa*) with various kinds of arrows (*bāṇa*), sword (*khaḍga*), battle axe (*paraśu*), mace (*gadā*), javelin (*tomara*), various kinds of spears (*kunta*, *bhallikā* and *bhindimāl*), *yantras* such as catapult (*śilāvarṣaṇa-yantra*), a kind of rod (*goṣpana*), hundred-killer (*śataghnī*) and so on.[1]

Some of the defensive weapons have also been mentioned such as, shield (*varma*), body armour (*kavaca*), helmets (*śirastrāṇa*), neck-protector (*kaṇṭha-trāṇa*), cover for the trunk (*kūrpāsa*), a coat extending as far below as the knuckles (*kancuka*), arrow averter (*vārabāṇa*).[2]

Each of the fighting armies had its banner marked by certain auspicious signs. Thus, we learn that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja had a banner marked by *Tāmra Cūḍa* (a kind of bird).[3] If the banner fell or was snatched by the enemy it was considered to be a sign of defeat.

Sixfold Policy: Since the universal conquest was not always possible, it was necessary to select best means for the promotion of the interest of the king as well as the state. For this purpose Somadeva, like his predecessors, refers to the following six measures of policy (*ṣāḍguṇya*): alliance, war marching, halting, dividing the army and seeking protection.[4] He has defined each of the measures and considered it to some extent. But nothing new he has to say about them.

The ancient political writers have discussed the internal position and relation of the conquering state with the neighbouring states at the time of war. Like Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka, the Jain author, Somadeva, has also stated the doctrine of *maṇḍala* or circle of states though he does not discuss it elaborately.[5] He simply enumerates the nine components of which the *rājamaṇḍala* consists, viz. *udāsīna* (neutral), *madhyama* (mediator), *vijigīṣu* (conquering king), *ari* (enemy), *mitra* (ally), *pārṣṇigrāha* (a rearward enemy), *asāra* (friend of rearward enemy or rearward friend), *ākranda* (a rearward friend), *antardhi* (king of concealed policy, almost foresters).[6] Defining these terms he mostly deals with the *vijigīṣu* or the conquering monarch, for he is the most important and chief component of a *maṇḍala*. He is advised to extirpate such an enemy whose subjects are displeased with

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[1] *Sanskrit Dvyāśraya Kāvya mā Madhyakālīna Gujarātam Sāmājika Sthiti*, Chapter on Sainya and Śastrāstra.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Nītivā.*, XXIX, pp. 323–325.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 317 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 320, sutra 30.

him, who is unjust, addicted to vices, and whose friends, ministers, feudatories and generals are dissentient.[1]

He should annihilate the enemy who is without shelter or weak in protection. If the enemy turns to be an ally he should be killed or deprived of all the prowess. He should consider his enemy who is elevated with the three constituent elements of regal power as a strong one, and devoid of these elements, as a weak one, and equal in them as an equal.[2]

The conquering monarch, decreasing in strength, should make a treaty by some agreement; if there be any violation of the treaty it should be corrected by swearing, etc.; and growing in strength, the conquering monarch should overcome his enemy if there be no agitation in his own camp.[3]

During our period, at the time of war, states were mostly divided into two or three groups. Some of the states sided with their friends and others joined the enemies. Some of them remained neutral. We know from the Bijāpura Jain inscription of Dhavala of Hathuṇḍi that Dhavala was neutral and gave shelter to those who sought for it.[4] Annexation and, sometimes, restoration of a rival's state were the policy of the day. For instance, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja annexed the territory of Yaśovarma Paramāra and assumed the title of *Avantinātha*,[5] while Mūlarāja restored Grāharipu and made him an ally.[6] Kumārapāla, sometimes, annexed the territory of the Cāhamānas of Naḍḍūla by appointing his generals to look after it and, some times, restored their territory on their accepting his suzerainty.[7]

Peace and Treaties: Somadeva says that the earth is not the hereditary possession of any one; it is only enjoyed by the strong and powerful.[8] Thus, he declares that war is inevitable. But, in the same voice, he also denounces the councillors and friends who advise a king to wage war or to leave the earth.[9] He prefers diplomacy to an armed conflict, for diplomacy is more effective than force.[10] He further states that the objects which may be achieved by peaceful means should not be got by armed conflict.[11]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 320, sutra 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, sutras 31, 32 and 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, sutras 50–51.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 180–182.

[5] See *supra*, p. 252.

[6] See *supra*, p. 227.

[7] See *supra*, p. 151 ff.

[8] *Nītivā.*, p. 331: न हि कुलागता कस्यापि भूमिः किन्तु वीरभोग्या वसुन्धरा।

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 344: न स किं मंत्री मित्रं वा यः प्रथममेव युद्धोद्योगं भूमित्यागं चोपदिशति।

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 346: प्रज्ञा ह्यमोघं शस्त्रं कुशलबुद्धीनाम्।

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 351: सामसाध्यं युद्धसाध्यं न कुर्यात्।

The State-policy and heroic valour of the conquering monarch are mostly to add to his wealth and more so to add territory to the kingdom.[1] To avoid conflict it is advised that a weak king may sign a treaty with a strong monarch offering him the income of the land,[2] for it is no good to fight with a hero.[3] It is also advised that if victory in war be doubtful, peace must be concluded even with one equal in every respect.[4]

Thus, we learn from the above chapters dealing with the dynasties that most of the kings of our period followed the above instructions. The later Paramāras, being weak in rule, mostly remained in peace with the Caulukya king of Gujarāta.

Ethics of War: Like his predecessors, Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka, Somadeva also divides conquest into three categories: (1) *dharma-vijaya* (battle according to the rules of *dharma*), (2) *lobha-vijaya* (battle through covetousness), (3) *asura-vijaya* (battle involving *adharma*).[5] In another place, in the chapter of *yuddha*, Somadeva refers to *kūṭa-yuddha* and *tūṣṇī daṇḍa*, the two kinds of the conquest. By the first he means the attack pretended to be made over one, but made over another. And by the second he means the silent war by undesirable means such as the use of poison, incantation, etc.[6] He does not, however, refer to *dharma-yuddha* as Kauṭilya does. Perhaps during our period, there was no conception or ideal of *dharma-yuddha*. Somadeva, however, like his predecessors, enjoins the diplomatic means of *Sama, Upapradāna* (*Dāna*) and *Bheda* as the precautionary measure to avoid war. He states that if the enemy be subdued by reconciliation the armed conflict should be avoided.[7] But as a true politician he says that if the only means to overcome the enemy be the armed conflict, to adopt the other diplomatic measures is like puttıng the oblation in the fire.[8]

A powerful king should not pardon the guilty one, for to pardon him is to court insult.[9]

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 344.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 330.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 362.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 326.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 362, sutras 70–73.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. sutras 90–91.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 351: सामसाध्यं युद्धसाध्यं न कुर्यात् ।
8 *Ibld.*, p. 351: दण्डसाध्ये रिपावुपायान्तरमग्नावाहुतिप्रदानमिव।
9 *Ibid.*, p. 338: शक्तस्यापराधिषु या क्षमा स तस्यात्मनः तिरस्कारः ।

It is natural that in battle there would be a number of weak and wounded soldiers. It is said that a true leader of army should sympathise with them, comfort the wounded and encourage the weak. Somadeva says that the frightened and the unarmed should not be killed in battle. It is like killing a Brāhmaṇa.[1] Treachery again should be avoided; it is a deadly sin.[2] The held-up prisoners in war should be released with sympathy and honour.[3] The king is entitled to make provisions for the family of persons deceased in battle in the service of the nation.[4]

Everywhere a soldier puts forth his best efforts not so much from prospects of monetary gain as for the honour expected from his master.[5] They should be ready to lay down their lives to save their king on the battlefield.[6] All the same, a ruler should be careful and punctual in paying his forces. What is the use of a cloud which does not rain in time?[7]

XIV. Public Works Department

The kings of our period were also interested in works of public utility. The *Tilakamañjarī* in one place records that king Meghavāhana ordered the artisans to restore the dilapidated temples at once; he asked the officer to fill up the empty charity houses with new provisions, beddings and medicines for travellers and patients; he asked the in-charge of the forest (*udyānapāla*) to protect the trees planted on the sides of tanks and rivers.[8] We learn from the *prabandha* literature that Bhoja employed hundred and seven *vaidyas* and physicians to serve the patients. He erected a bell-tower at the crossing so that a person by pulling the bell-string could approach the physician for free treatment. He insisted upon doctors, to cure patients suffering from acute diseases free of charge. He also provided all kinds of facilities to sufferers.[9] We know that the Caulukya kings were very fond of digging tanks and lakes, erecting temples and towers equipped with sun-dials and bells. Three among the four great works of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, the great temple, the great lake and the great charity house, were concerned

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 364: रणेषु भीतमशस्त्रं च हिंसन् ब्रह्महा भवति ।

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 366.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 364: संग्रामधृतेषु यायिषु सत्कृत्य विसर्गः ।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 369: राजा राजकार्येषु मृतानां सन्ततिमपोषयन्नृणभागी स्यात्साधु नोपचर्यते तंत्रेण ।

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 213: न तथार्थः पुरुषान् योधयति यथा स्वामिसम्मानः ।

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 369: युधि स्वामिनं परित्यजतो नास्तीहामुत्र च कुशलम् ।

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 215: तावद्देयं यावदाश्रिताः सम्पूर्णतामाप्नुवन्ति किं तेन जलदेन यः काले न वर्षति ।

[8] *Kāvyamālā* Series, p. 65.

[9] *SJGM.*, II, p. 22.

chiefly with public welfare.[1] Setting up of many water-houses, construction of many rest-houses and excavation of numerous wells and tanks, which cost about three hundred crores and fourteen lakhs, were possible only due to the eudæmonistic efforts and altruistic zeal of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the minister of Vīradhavala whom Bālacandra-Sūri has immortalised in the pages of the *Vasanta-vilāsa-mahākāvya*.[2]

There must have been officers to look after all these works, but we do not find any particular reference to them in the Jain sources of our period.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 255 ff.

[2] *GOS.*, VII, See Introduction to *Vasanta-vilāsa-mahākāvya*.

APPENDIX

List of the Jain inscriptions used as a source of information for the individual dynasty.

Abbreviations:

C.P. — Copper-plates.

C.R. — Contemporary record.

E.R -- Early reference.

I. — Image.

Ins. — Inscription.

P. — Pillar.

T. — Temple.

S. -- Saka, & Stone inscription

V.E. — Vikram Era.

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D	Reference
	CHAPTER II			
	I *Puṣyabhūtis*			
1	Aihole ins. of Pulakeśin II (C.R. of Harṣa)	S. 556	634	*EI*, VI, 6–10; *JSLS* II, No. 108
	CHAPTER III			
	I *Gurjara-Pratihāras*			
	(i) *Jodhapur Branch*			
2	Ghaṭiyāla ins. of Kakkuka	V.E. 918	861	*JRAS*, 1896, pp. 513 ff; *JLS* I, No. 945
	(ii) *Avanti Branch*			
3	Osia Jain T. ins. of Vatsarāja	V.E. 1013	956	*ASI*, Ann. Re. 1908–9 pp. 108 ff; *JLS*, I, No. 788
4	Deogarh Jain T.P. ins. of Bhoja I.	V.E. 919	862	*EI*. IV, pp. 309–10; *ASIR*, X, p. 101; *JSLS*, II, No. 128
5	Ahar Jain T. ins. of Allaṭa (C.R. of Devapāla)		Circa 948	*H.R.* II, p. 428
6	Dubkund S. ins. Vikramasiṁha (C.R. of Rājyapāla)	V.E. 1145	1088	*EI* II, pp. 237–240; *JSLS*. II, No. 228
	CHAPTER IV			
	I *Pālas*			
7	Nālandā Jain Temple p. ins. of Rājyapāla	24 yr.	C. 935	*IA* XLVII, p. 111; *JBORS*, 1928, p. 489
	II *Senas of Bengal*			
8	Mūlguṇḍā Jain S. ins. of Kṛṣṇa II (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) (for E.R. of Senas)	S. 824	903	*EI*, XIII, p. 193; *JSLS*, II, No. 137
9	Śravaṇa-velagola ins. Mārasiṁha II (for E.R. of Senas)	S. 896	819	*JSLS*, I, No. 38

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
	III *Kesari Dyanasty*			
10	Lalitendu Cave—of Udyotakeśarī(i)	5	C. 10th Cent.	*E.I*, XIII, p. 165-66, No. XVI ; *PJLS*, I. p. 43
11	Nava Muni Cave ins. of Udyotakeśari(ii)	18	C. 10th Cent.	*ibid* ; *PJLS*, I, p. 42

CHAPTER V

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
	I. *Candellas*			
12	Khajurāho Jain I. ins. of Dhaṅga	V.E. 1011	954	*EI*, I, pp. 135-136
13	Papaura Jain I. ins. of Madanavarma	V.E. 1202	1145	*Jain Sahitya aur Itihās*, p. 193
14	ibid	V.E. 1202	1145	ibid
15	Khajuraho Jain I. ins. of Madanavarma (i)	V.E. 1205	1148	*EI*, I, pp. 151-153
16	ibid (ii)	V.E. 1215	1158	*ibid*
17	Mahoba Jain I. ins. of Madanavarma	V.E. 1211	1154	*ASR* XXI, p. 49
18	ibid	V.E. 1221	1164	*ASR* II, p. 448
19	Ahāra Jain I. ins. of Paramardideva	V.E. 1237	1180	*Premi Abhi. Granth* p. 625
20	Ajaigarh Jain I. ins. of Vīravarmadeva	V.E. 1331	1274	
21	Ajaigarh Jain I. ins. of Vīravarmadeva	V.E. 1335	1278	
	II *Kacchapaghāta* (I) *Of Gwalior*			
22	Suhaniyā Jain I. ins. of Vajradāman	V.E. 1034	977	*JLS. II*, No. 1431
23	Sāsabahu I. ins. of Mahīpāla	V.E. 1150	1093	*I.A.* XV, pp. 33-46
	(II) *Of Dubkund*			
24	Bayānā S. Jain ins. of Vijayapāla	V.E. 1100	1043	*I.A.* XIV, pp. 8-10
25	Dubkund S. ins. of Vikramasiṁha	V.E. 1145	1088	*EI*, II, 237-240 ; *JSLS*, II, No. 228

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
	CHAPTER VI			
	(I) *Paramāras*			
26	Kalvan Jain T. C.P. of Yaśovarman Cālukya of the reign of Bhoja	undated		*EI*, XIX, pp. 69–75
27	Modi Jain T.S. ins.	V.E. 1312	1256-7	—
	CHAPTER VII			
	Cāhamānas (II) *of Śākambhari*			
28	Bijolia Jain I. Rock ins. of Someśvara	V.E. 1226	1170	*EI*, XXVI, pp. 84–112
	(III) *of Naddūla*			
29	Sevadi Jain T. ins. of Āsarāja (i)	V.E. 1167	1110	*EI*, XI, pp. 28-30; *JLS*, I, No. 875
30	ibid (ii)	V.E. 1172	1115	ibid, pp. 30–32; *JLS*, I, No. 876
31	Nadlai Jain P. ins. of Rāyapāla (in the Ādināth temple) (i)	V.E. 1189	1132	*EI*, XI, pp. 34–36; *JLS*, I, No. 843; *PJLS*, II, No. 331
32	ibid (in the Neminath temple) (ii)	V.E. 1195	1138	*EI*, XI, pp. 37–41; *JLS*, I, No. 857; *PJLS*, II, No. 332
33	Nadlai Ādināth I. ins. of Rāyapāla (iii)	V.E. 1200	1143	*EI*, XI, pp. 4–42; *JLS*, I, No. 844
34	ibid (iv)	V.E. 1200	1143	*JLS*, I, No. 845
35	ibid (v)	V.E. 1202	1145	*JLS*, I, No. 846
36	Kirāḍu S. ins. of Ālhaṇadeva (i)	V.E. 1209	1152	*EI*, XI, pp. 43–46; *PJLS*, II, No. 346
37	Nadol C.P. Jain grants of Ālhaṇadeva (ii)	V.E. 1218	1161	*EI*, IX, pp. 63–66; *JLS*, I, No. 839
38	ibid (iii)	V.E. 1218	1161	*EI*, IX, pp. 66–70; *JLS*, I, No. 840
39	Sāṇḍerāva S. ins. of Kelhaṇa (i)	V.E. 1221	1164	*EI*, IX, pp. 46–49; *JLS*, I, No. 883

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
40	Lalrai S. ins. of Kelhaṇa (ii)	V.E. 1233	1176	*EI*, IX, pp. 49–51; *PJLS*, II, No. 347; *JLS*, I, No. 891
41	ibid (iii)	do	do	*JLS*, I, No. 892, *PJLS*, II, No. 348
42	Sānderāva S. ins. of Kelhana (iv)	V.E. 1236	1179	*EI*, IX, pp. 51–52; *JLS*, I, No. 884
43	Saciyāya Mātā ins. of Kelhaṇa (v)	V.E. 1236	1179	*JLS*, I, No. 804
44	Gāṅgāṇā Jain I. ins. of Kelhana (vi)	V.E. 1241	1184	*PJLS*, II, No. 429
45	Pālādı, S. ins. of Kelhaṇa (vii)	V.E. 1249	1192	*EI*, IX, p. 73; *JLS*, I, No. 955; *PJLS*, II, No. 424
46	Vimala I. Jain ins. of Lūniga	V.E. 1378	1321	*APJLS*, II, No. 1 (ii), pp. 4ff
	(IV) *of Jalor*			
47	Jalor Topakhānā Jain ins. of Samarasiṁha (i)	V.E. 1239	1182	*EI*, XI, pp. 52–54, *PJLS*, II, No. 351; *JLS*, I, No. 899, p. 238
48	do (ii)	(i) V.E. 1221 (ii) 1242 (iii) 1256 (iv) 1268	1164 1185 1199 1211	*EI*, XI, pp. 55; *PJLS*, II, 353; *JLS*, I, No. 899; p. 239
49	Sundhā Hill S. ins. of Cācigadeva (i)	V.E. 1319	1262	*EI*, IX, pp. 70–77; *JLS*, I, No. 903
50	Jalor Topakhānā Jain ins. of Cācigadeva (ii)	V.E. 1323	1264	*JLS*, I, No. 903
51	Ratnapur Jain ins. of Cācigadeva (iii)	V.E. 1333	1276	*JLS*, I, No. 935
52	Bhinamāl P. Jain ins. of Cācigadeva (iv)	V.E. 1333	1276	*B.G.* I (i), pp. 480–481, No. XII
53	Hathundi Mātāji T. P. ins. of Sāmantasiṁha (i)	V.E. 1345	1288	*JLS*, I, No. 897

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
54	Ratnapur Jain ins. of Sāmanta-siṁha (ii)	V.E. 1348	1291	*JLS*, I, No. 936
55	Vermeda Jain T. ins. of Sāmanta-siṁha (iii)	V.E. 1352	1285	*JLS*, I, No. 749
56	Jūnā Jain T. ins. of Sāmanta-siṁha (iv)	V.E. 1352	1285	*JLS*, I, No. 918
57	Jalor Topakhānā Jain ins. of Sāmantasiṁha (*v*)	V.E. 1353	1296	*JLS*, I, No. 903; *PJLS*, II, No. 353
58	Vāghiṇa Jain ins. of Sāmanta-siṁha (vi)	V.E. 1359	1302	*JLS*, I, No. 959

CHAPTER VIII

I. *Guhilotas*

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
59	Ahar Jain T. ins. of Allaṭa	undated		*HR*, II, p. 428
60–61	Two Ahār Jain ins. of Śaktikumāra	Circa V.E. 1034	977	*HR*, II, pp. 434–437
62	Sānderāva Jain T. P. ins. of Sāmantasiṁha	V.E. 1258	1201	*ASI*, *WC*, 1916–17, pp. 65–66; *EI*, XX, No. 446
63	Ghāghasā S. ins. of Tejasiṁha (i)	V.E. 1322	1265	*RMR*, 1927, p. 3
64	Citor S. ins. of Tejasiṁha (ii)	V.E. 1324	1267	*RMR*, 1923, p. 3; *JASB*, LV, part I, pp. 46–47
65	Cirwa S. ins. of Samarasiṁha (i)	V.E. 1330	1273	*EI*, XXII, p. 285; *WZKM*, XXI, p. 142ff
66	Citor Jain T. ins. of Samarasiṁha	V.E. 1335	1278	*IA*, XXII, pp. 80–81; *HR*, II, p. 479
67	Rainpur (Rāṇakpur) Jain T. ins. of Rāṇā Kumbha	V.E. 1496	1439	*PJLS*, II, No. 307; *JLS*, I, No. 700

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A.D.	Reference
	II. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍī*			
68	Bijāpur Stone ins. of Dhavala	V.E. 1053 V.E. 996	997 949	*JASB*, 1893, Pt. I, pp. 308-14 ; *EI*, X, p. 17ff ; *PJLS*, II, No. 318 ; *JLS*, I, No. 898 ; *HIG*, III, No. 238A
	III. *Paramāras of Bānsawārā (Vāgaḍa)*			
69	Arthūna Jain T. ins. of Cāmuṇḍarāja	V.E. 1159	1102	*RMR*, 1915, p. 2
70	Arthūnā Jain T. ins. of Vijayarāja	V.E. 1166	1109	*EI*, XXI, p. 50
	IV. *Paramāras of Candrāvati*			
71	Diyāna Jain T. P. ins. of Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja	V.E. 1024	967	*APJLS*, V, No. 486
72	Vimala Jain T. ins. (from Abu) of Dhandhuka	V E. 1088	1031	*EI*, IX, pp. 151 ; *APJLS*, II, No. 1 ; *BI*, p. 36
73	Jhālodi Jain T. ins. of Dhārāvarṣa (i)	V.E. 1252 V.E. 1255	1195 1198	*PJLS*, II, No. 430 ; *APJLS*, V. No. 311
74	Arāsanā Jain T. ins. of Dhārāvarṣa (ii)	V.E. 1276	1219	*APJLS*, V, No. 21
75	Lūna Jain T. ins. of Somasimha (i)	V.E. 1287	1230	*EI*, VIII, p. 211-16 ; *APJLS*, II, No. 250
76	do (ii)	V.E. 1287	1230	*APJLS*, II, No. 251
77	do of Kānhadadeva	V.E. 1287	1230	*APJLS*, II, No 251
78	Dattāni Jain T. P. ins. of Vīsaladeva	V.E. 1345	1288	*APJLS*, V, No. 55
79	Vimala Jain T. S. ins. (from Abu) of Vīsaladeva	*V.E. 1350*	*1293*	*APJLS*, II, No. 2 *PJLS*, II, No. 133 ; *HIG, III, No. 233A* , *Poona Orientalist* III, No. 2, p. 69
	V *Paramāras of Kirādu*			
80	Kirādu Śiva T. ins. of Someśvara	*V.E. 1218*	1162	*JLS*, I, No. 942; *HIG*, III, No. 149B.

CHAPTER IX

II *Caulukyas (Solankis) of Gujarāta*

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A D	Reference
81	Varunāsarmaka C P. of Cāmundarāja	V.E. 1033	977	*HIG*, III, No. 136A, pp. 154-155.
82	Vimala Jain T. ins. (from Ābu) of Bhīma I (i)	V.E. 1088	1031	*APJLS*, II, No. 1; *PJLS*, II, No. 132, *EI*, IX, p. 151-56.
83	ibid (ii)	V.E. 1119	1062	*EI*, IX, p. 148, *EI*, XIX Inscription of N. India, No. 137.
84	Citorgadh S. ins. of Kumārapāla	V.E. 1207	1150	*EI*, II, p. 421, *HIG*, II, No. 146.
85	Vadanagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla	V.E. 1208	1151	*EI*, I, 293; *HIG*, II, No. 147.
86	Kirādu S. ins. of the reign of Kumārapāla	V E. 1209	1152	*EI*, XI, pp. 43-44; *HIG*, II, No. 148; *PJLS*, II, No. 346.
87	Nadol C.P. ins. of the reign of Kumārapāla	V.E. 1213	1156	*IA*, XXXXI, p. 202, *HIG*, III, No. 148K; *JLS*, I, No. 481.
88	Kirādu Śiva T.P. ins. of the reign of Kumārapāla	V.E. 1218	1161	*HIG*, III, 149B; *JLS*, I, No. 942.
89	Jalor Topakhānā Jain ins. of the reign of Kumārapāla	V.E. 1221	1164	*EI*, XI, pp. 55; *PJLS*, II, No. 352; *JLS*, I, No. 899 (ii).
90	Ratanpur Śiva T.P. ins. of the reign of Kumārapāla	undated		*HIG*, III, No. 55A; *PJLS*, II, No. 345.
91	Jūnāgadha S. ins. of Kumārapāla	V.E. 1225	1169	*BI*, Pt. 184, *HIG*, II, No. 154.
92	Girnar Jain T. ins. of the reign of Bhīma II	V.E. 1256	1199	*Poona Orientalist*, I, No. 4; *HIG*, III, No. 157E.
93	Somanāth P. Jain ins. of Bhīma II	V.E. 125(x)		*Poona Orientalist*, II, No. 4; *HIG*, III, No. 158A.

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A D.	Reference
94	Lūna T. Jain ins. (from Abu) of the reign of Bhīma II. (i)	V.E. 1287	1230	*EI*, VIII, pp. 204 ff; *HIG*, II, No. 168; *APJLS*, II, No. 251; *PJLS*, II, No. 64.
95	ibid (i)	V.E. 1287	1230	*EI*, VIII, pp. 204ff; *HIG*, II, No. 168; *APJLS*, II, No. 251; *PJLS*, *II*, No. 65.

CHAPTER X

Serial No.	Name of the Inscription	Date in Indian Era	A D.	Reference
	I *Vāghelas*			
96	Delavāḍā Ādināth Jain T. ins. (from Abu) of the reign of Vīradhavala	V.E. 1267	1210	*BI*, p. 174; *HIG*, III, No. 206.
97-102	Giranāra Jain T. ins. of the reign of Vīradhavala, (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) & (vi)	V.E. 1288	1231	*HIG*, III, Nos. 207-212; *PJLS* II, Nos. 38-43.
103	Girnāra Neminath T. ins. of Arjunadeva	V.E. 1330	1273	*Poona Orientalist*, III, No. 1, p. 21; *HIG*, III, No. 219A, p. 210.
104	Āmaraṇa S. Jain ins. of Sārangadeva (i)	V.E. 1333	1276	*Poona Orientalist*, III, No. 1, p. 23; *Purātattva* I, pp. 37-41.
105	Dattāni Jain T. ins. of Sāraṅgadeva (ii)	V.E. 1345	1288	*APJLS*, V., No. 55.
106	Vimala Jain T. ins. of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva (iii)	V.E. 1350	1293	*APJLS*, II, No. 2; *PJLS*, II, No. 133; *HIG*, III, No. 223A; *Poona Orientalist*, III, No. 2, p. 69.
107	Cambay (Khambhāta) Pārśvanāth Jain T. S. ins. of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva (iv)	V.E. 1352	1295	*PJLS*, II, No. 449; *BI*, pp. 227-33.

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INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription from :—

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DATED COLOPHONS OF MSS.

Colophon of Ms.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
2	30	*Vikramāṅkadeva*	*Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*
3	35	Calukyas	Caulukyas
8	27 & 29	Calukyas	Caulukyas
10	24	Jain	Jains
14	1	Pāthak[3]	Pāthak[1]
15	fn. 1, L.2	मयूरा	मयूखा
15	23	himself, marched	himself marched
21	17	(*Anaśana*)	(*sallekhanā*)
23	12	within long	within this long
24	fn. 3	गुत्रकाख्या	गुत्रकाख्यः
24	11	Lāteśvara	Lāṭa
25	28	undefinite	indefinite
26	10	alternative, and this alternative	alternative except one which
26	fn. 2	Altekar, A.D.,	Altekar A.S.,
27	3	of Āma	of Āma, while his family name or popular name was Ama
29	9	*satpatsu*	*saptasu*
29	25	region	reign
29	fn. 1	pp. 39-40	p. 27
30	8	of dispute	of dispute.
31	fn. 3	p. 37	p. 26
	fn. 4	p. 38	pp. 26-27
33	2	overflow	overthrow
33	fn. 3	परभइभिलहिंभगो पण	परभडभिडडिभंगो पणईयण
35	fn. 5	Supra p. 49	Supra p. 33
36	26	samunai attha	samunnai ettha
36	fn. 3	infra p. 62	infra p. 42
36	fn. 5	श्वोर्नीति	श्वोन्नति
37	3	*Tatobhavāt*	*Tatobhavat*
39	fn. 2	Supra p. 49	Supra p. 33
40	5	was the ruler	was the ruler of that territory
41	fn. 1	क्षितिमृतो	क्षितिभृतो
41	fn. 2	p. 46	p. 31
	fn. 3	p. 38	p. 26

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
42	fn. 1	pp. 35, 36	p. 24-25
43	17	Marisena	Harisena
44	6	Vinayakapāla	Vināyakapāla
45	fn. 4	infra p. 219	infra pp. 172-173
	fn. 5	[illegible]	[illegible]
47	17	Barahi	Basahī
48	21	ruling the ...	ruling over the....
	fn. 5	[illegible]	[illegible]
53	fn. 3	p. 350	p. 358
54	3	Vardhamāna Kuñjara	Vardhanakuñjara
57	fn. 3	[illegible]	[illegible]
58	12	Sāmanta Sena	Sāmantasena
58	24	902-5 A.D.	902-3 A.D.
59	22	from 9th to 10th	from the 9th to the 10th
66	17	Dubkund	Dubkund² (with asterisk)
69	8-9	Kumarapala....found	(it is repetition of lines 6 & 7)
66	26	Madanavarmadeva²	Madanavarmadeva
71	25	There	Their
71	fn. 2, L.2	latter	later
74	9	Mūladeva	Devapāla
82	Asterisk	1, 1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3, 4.
82	10	having informed	having been informed
81	1 (see also index)	DĀHALA	ḌĀHALA
81	21	Abu Baihaqi	Abu-l-Fazl Baihaqi
84	6	drops or	drops of
86	15	Harsola copper plates¹	Harsola copper plates⁴
87	3	*bhupañgas*	*bhujañga*
87	27	the form drawing.... check	the form of drawing....cheek
88	15	V.E. 1020	V.E. 1088
88	fn. 2	[illegible]	[illegible]
90	21	enjoyed for a long time, pleasure	enjoyed pleasure for a long time
92	32	Kalyāra	Kalyāṇi
93	fn. 3, L.3	[illegible]	[illegible]

Page	Line	For	Read
98	1	and reliance can	and no reliance can
105	fn. 1	र्थिहृत्य	निर्हृत्य
107	fn. 7	p.	No. 55, p. 118.
110	fn. 1	उपद्रयमाणे	उपद्रूयमाणे
111	fn. 4	भग्नोऽसि	भग्नोऽस्त
114	10	There are,	These are,
115	fn. 1, L. 2	त्रास द्रि-ध्यनरेन्द्र	त्रासाद्रिन्ध्यनरेन्द्र
123	23	become his mother	become like his mother.
124	19	(modern Nagapur	(modern Nagaur
125	12	testifies the	testifies to the
131	13	*no king*	*no such king*
133	28	*Vigiaharāja*	*Vigrahaiāja* IV
134	fn. 2, L. 2	कुन्तपालोऽगाद्यतो	कुन्तपालोऽगादूयतो
139	3	of the harassment	of harassment
139	15	Eight times	Eighth time.
141	13	his ancient hatred	his old hatred
143	7	succeeded Prahlāda	succeeded him.
150	12	Krsnarāja	Kṛṣṇadeva
151	7	A.R.	A.D.
152	23	as grant	a grant
153	6	regin	reign
153	last	informs	inform
155	5	refers to it.	refers to it.[2]
157	3	(1136 A.D)	(1176 A.D.)
160	13	Kirātakūṭa	Kirātakūpa
167	6	V.E. 1248	V.E. 1348
167	fn.	5.6.	5 as 6 and 6 as 5.
168	last	king	kings.
171			below CHAPTER VIII, add DYANASTIES OF RĀJASTHĀN (Continued)
177	28		*Samarasımha*:– (before the line 28).
177	fn. 1	p. p. 3	p. 3
181	fn. 1, L. 3	श्रीमाण प्रणष्टहरिणे इव	श्रीमाणे प्रणष्टहरिण इव

Page	Line	For	Read
182	9	prince Mammata.... son Vidagdharāja.	prince Vidagdharāja..... ....son Mammata.
182	fn. 2, L. 4	ष्टे ञ	ष्टे च
183	11	two Jain inscription	two Jain inscriptions
	20	V E. 1109	V.E. 1166 (1109 A.D.)
185	6	three insrcriptions.	the inscriptions.
186	11	V.E. 1282	V.E. 1287.
187	3	might not easily	might not be easily
189	16	Bhaduṇḍa	Bhatuṇḍā
191	21	on the reign	of the reign.
192	fn. 2	....sandoha, IV,	.....sandoha, V,
193	fn. 3	E.I., VIII etc. (whole)	SJGM, VI, p. 48; SJGM, II. p. 43.
194	fn. 1	ibid V. 40, etc.	fn. 3 of previous page
	fn. 2	ibid	ibid, V. 40, etc. (of fn. 1).
	fn. 5	ibid	*EI*, VIII,
	fn. 7	pp. 21-22	pp. 19-20.
195	19	1278	1378
197	16	damaged inscription.	damaged Jain inscription.
201	2	स्पव कुटींव	स्पष्कुटींव
203	3	bending	shifting
	31	turned to be an outlaw.	turned an outlaw.
204	fn. 2	V. K. Shastri	D. K. Shastri.
213	25	hands	hand
214	17	Gujaras	Gurjaras
	22	three brother's	three brothers.
220	8	is leaned	has leaned
	fn. 4	Brah,	Barah
227	34	referred to find above	referred to above find
229	2	defect	defeat
230	last	become	became
232	last	succeded	succeeded.
233	24	Paramaras	Paramāra
234	26	By the way	On the way.
235	12	their	there.
236	1	was a crowned king.	was crowned king.

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
236	2	V.E. 1065	V.E. 1086.
238	asterisk	1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
238	fn. 1	भंञे	भंजे
239	28	visits	visited
240	fn. 7	क्तोऽर्बुदं	घृतोऽर्बुदे
241	last	1164–74	1064–94
242	8	1155 A.D. to 1160.	1055 A.D. To 1060
245	17	fo	for
251	25	V.E. 1196	V.E. 1195
252	fn.	अत्यह	अद्येह
258	fn.	1 and 2 (at the end)	6 and 7.
260	fn. 9	....*saṅgraha*, No. 381	....*saṅgraha* II, No. 381
261	4	refers to Jagadeva	refers to a Jagadeva.
265	7	by fasting	after fasting.
266	18	Nadalai	Nādol.
268	14	a Citor	at Cittor.
269	27	to a Jain....	to the Lūna T. Jain....
272	3	But his	But this.
272	22	held	help.
275	7	V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1162)	V.E. 1287 (A.D. 1130).
275	8	Paramāra family.	of Paramāra family.
276	28	The Udayana	The Udayapur.
278	29	general	generals.
279	fn. 1	Deasi	Desāi
	fn. 2	घोत्रणा	घोषणा
281	18	Meru	Maru
	19	regour	rigour.
282	24	must, have	must have.
285	1	or	of
293	31	wirh	with
294	24	Bīma	Bhīma
	29	from the Jain....	from the Jain sources. But we can say definitely on the evidence of a *praśasti* of the Jain....
	30	V.E. 1225	V.E. 1295

Page	Line	For	Read
294	31	The two other....	The two other Praśastis of the Jain MSS., namely
	fn. 1	Supra, P.	Supra, pp. 115–116.
298	19	long vassalage of	long vassalage to
308	2	as the son of	as the sun of
	23	Then they came	When they came
314	19	1236	V.E. 1236.
317	15	Śrīsome as....	Śrīsome as Mahattama and....
319	18	temple inscriptions.	temple inscription.
319	24	In reference to	With reference to
	30	tim	time.
	fn. 2	CPSI	BI.
321	fn. 8	ज्ञान्वा	ज्ञात्वा
323	7	Jayasimha Sindhurāja	Jayasimha Siddharāja
324	9	fource	forces.
331	12	to give, him	to give him
	13	serivices	services.
332	1	(*Ādipurāṇa*)	*Ādi-Purāṇa* (without brackets)
	15	(772 A.D.)	(972 A.D.)
336	20	or learning	of learning.
340	21	persevered the ideal.	persevered in the ideal
349	fn. 6	[illegible]	[illegible]
369	2	*Pratikaṇṭaka*	*Pratibandhaka*
	2	*Vinigrāhaka*	*nibigrāhaka*
	fn. 1	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pages	215–225 229, 233 & 235–282	heading- The Dynasties of Rajasthana.	The Dynasties of Saurastra.

(a) *Capital initial* letters in the following should be taken as *small letters* :- *Purāṇa* (p. 1, l. 24), Saṁskāras (p. 2, l. 5), *Prabandha* (p. 4, l. 8, 9), *Adhikāra* (p. 7, l. 28, 31, 35, 36), *Prayaścitta* (p. 8, l. 1), *Kāvyas* (p. 8, l 11), *Parikṣā* (p. 8, l. 22), *Paṭṭāvali* (p. 9, l. 9), *Namah* (p. 11, l. 4), *Praśasti* (p. 11, l. 21), *Nipuṇo* (p. 17, l. 11), *Maṇḍala* (p. 24, l. 4, 11; p. 25, l. 31, 35), *Carita* (p. 25, l. 5; p. 26, l. 11; p. 26, l. 11; p. 27, l. 16, 19, 34; p. 28, l. 8, 10, 25, p. 35, l. 5; p. 42, l. 2 etc), (*Sva-Vijaya*) (p. 25, l. 11); *Vaṁśa* (p. 29, l, 8), *Pūrvām* (p. 33, l. 11); p. 39, l. 23),

Gaccha (p. 37, l. 24), Naksatra (p. 37, l. 26), *Pratihāraṭaṁ* (p. 37, l. 2), *Gosṭhi* (p. 40, l 23), *Maṇḍapa* (p 40, l. 27), *Srimad, Bhūbhrat, Nrpa, Adhirāja* (p. 41, l. 25), *Parabhaḍa* (ibid, l. 27), *Narahatthi* (ibid, l. 42), *Campu* (p. 43, l. 4), *Saṅgraha* (p. 47, l. 7), *Cintamaṇi* (ibid, l. 14), *Kośa* (ibid, p. l. 24), and other similar words in other pages.

(b) *Ordinary type* of the following words should be taken as *italics*:- Saṅskāras (p. 2, l. 6), Nirvāna (p. 2, l. 19, p. 9, l. 7), Mahākāvya(s) (p. 2, l. 21), Prabandha(s) (p. 3, l. 17), Sūtras (p. 6, l. 17), Nītiśāstra (p. 7, l. 17), Kāvya(s) (p. 8, l. 11), Paṭṭāvali(s), (p. 9 l. 10), Gana, Gaccha (p. 9, l. 35; p. 11, l. 1), Om Sarvajñāya Namah, Padmanathaya Namah (p. 11, l. 4), Jain (p. 12, l. 12), (Harṣa), (p. 15, l. 4);, Sūri (p. 19, l. 12), Lāṭeśvara Manḍala (p. 24, l. 4; p. 41, l. 17), Adhimanḍala (p. 27, l. 24), Gaccha, (p. 37, l. 24), Caritra (p. 37, l. 25), Nakṣatra Hasta (p. 37, l. 26), Lāta Mālava Gurjarāḥ (p. 38, l. 10); Pratihāra (p. 40, l. 16), Manḍapa (p. 40, l. 22, p. 40, l 27); Gosthi (p. 40, l. 23), Phālguna (p. 40, l. 25), Mālaveśa (p. 41, l. 11), Jain Arhat (p. 42 l. 17), Acārya (p. 42, l. 18), Goṣthika (p. 42, l. 23), Mahāśabdās (p. 42, l. 22), Mahāsāmanta (p. 42, l. 21), Vināyakādipālasya, (p. 42, l. 21), Vināya-Ādi (p. 44, l. 22), Śakropamānake (p. 44, l. 24), and similar other Prakrit and Saṅskrit words in other pages (see also Index – I).

(c) *Italics* of the following words should be taken as *ordinary* type: *Like* (p. 5, l. 27), *Jinaprabhasūri* (p. 18, l. 5), *Dharaṇivarāha* (p. 44, l. 29).

(d) Wherever the following words occur, they should be taken as: kacchapaghāta for kacchapaghāṭa; Srīpāla for Srīpala, Vāghela(s) for Vaghelā and see also the Index – I for the correct spelling of the proper names.